California Journal
The Monthly Analysis of State Government and Politics
JULY 1983/$2.50

Bridging the Republicans' gender gap

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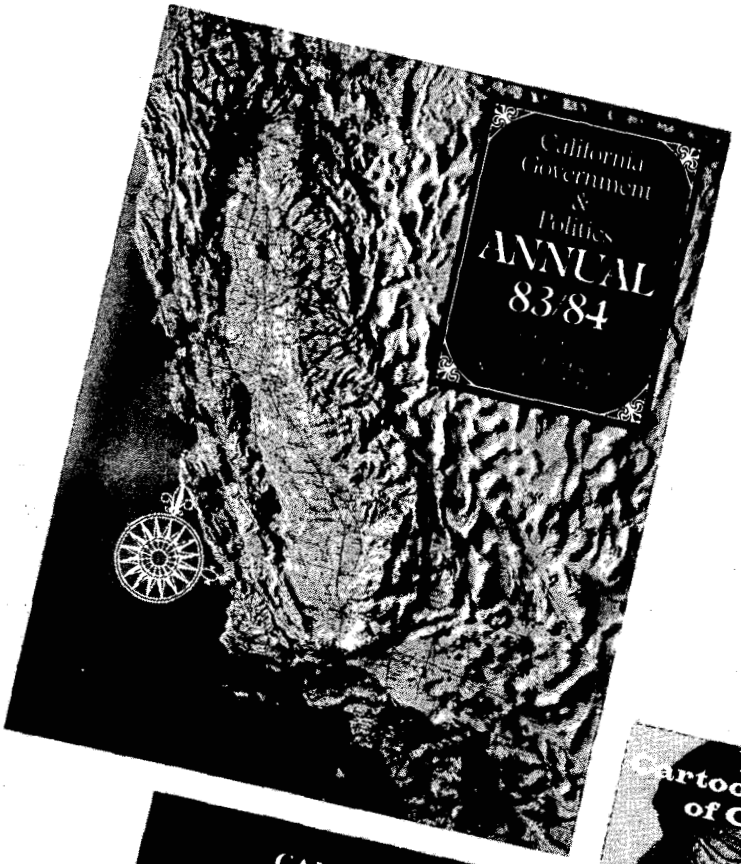

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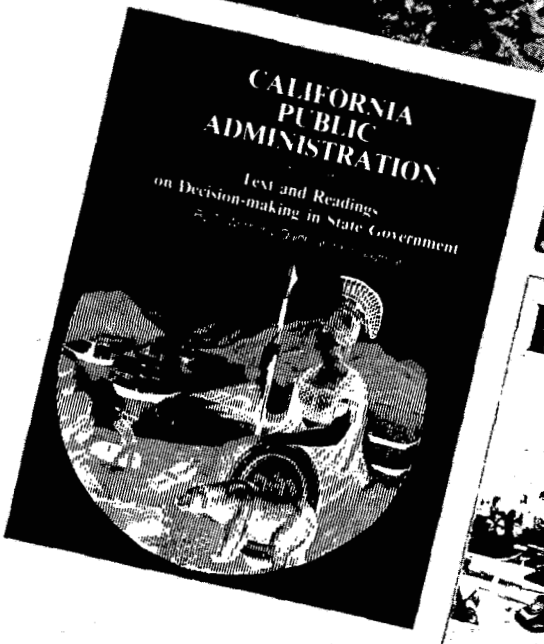

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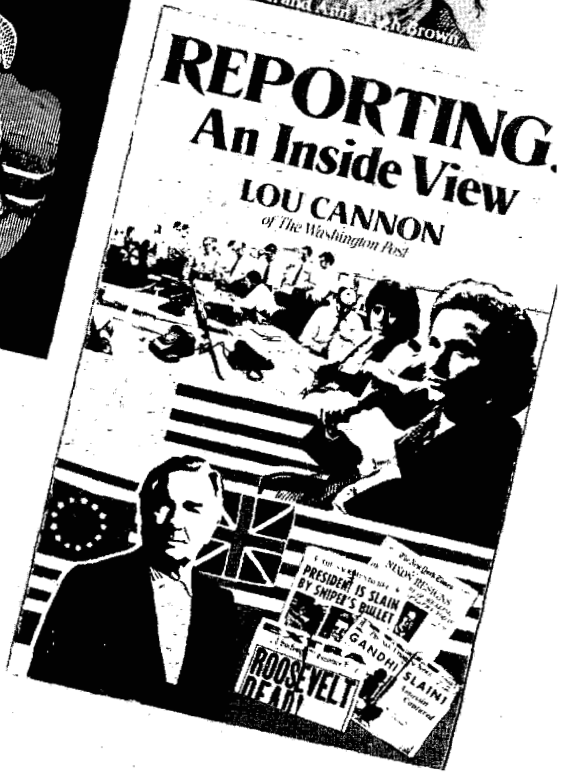

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California Journal

The Monthly Analysis of State Government and Politics

Volume XIV, Number 7 **July 1983**

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CALIFORNIA JOURNAL is a non-partisan, non-ideological analysis of California government and politics established in 1970 and published monthly by The California Center, a non-profit, public benefit corporation specializing in research and education in government.

The *Journal* is indexed in Public Affairs Information Service, New York Times Information Bank, Sage Urban Studies Abstracts, Urban Affairs Abstracts, Public Issues Index and California Periodicals Index.

California Journal (ISSN 00081205) is published monthly. Subscription rates: Libraries and Governmental Agencies, $35; Corporations and Associations, $75; Special Individual Rate, $22. Address all inquiries to California Journal, 1714 Capitol Ave., Sacramento, California 95814. Telephone (916) 444-2840.

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Second class postage paid at Sacramento. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to CALIFORNIA JOURNAL, 1714 Capitol Ave., Sacramento, CA 95814.

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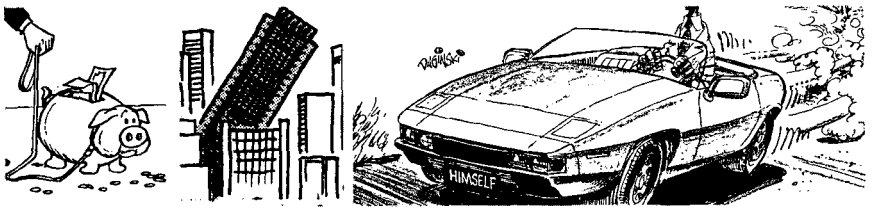

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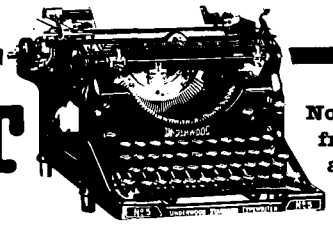
UP FRONT



Notes and Items from Contributors and the Journal Staff.

The rigors of political life have been known to grey a politician's hair, but nothing like what the *Los Angeles Times* did recently to Republican Assemblyman Bill Leonard, 35, of Redlands. In a June

12th article on the budget, the *Times* mistakenly ran a photo of Bill Leonard Sr., the assemblyman's 60-year-old father. The elder Leonard, who served on the California Highway Commission from 1973 to 1977, is now a real estate investor in San Bernardino.

The appellate court decision last month that abolished the .10 measure of drunkenness in drunk driving cases generated a storm of controversy — in part because the justice who wrote it, William A. Newsom Jr., an appointee of former Governor Jerry Brown, was once arrested for drunk driving. However, district attorneys are also concerned about a lesser-noted decision from the same San Francisco appellate district. This one says that breath test results cannot be used in court against accused drunk drivers unless police retain a test sample so the defendant can check it later. Due process is at stake, said the court. The problem is that today's breath testers are incapable of retaining samples long enough to satisfy the courts. Thus, suspected drunk drivers who choose a breath test (and most do) rather than blood or urine may avoid having results used against them. The California District Attorneys Association is pushing legislation which, it hopes, will satisfy the ruling by requiring local police to warn suspected drunk drivers that breath test samples cannot be saved. And as if that weren't enough, the new highway patrol commissioner says that Californians' failure to observe the 55-mile-an-hour speed limit is allowing drunk drivers to escape. James E. Smith says the patrol must spend so much effort enforcing the 55-mile rule that it cannot strictly enforce drunk driving laws.

(Margaret Azevedo, Tiburon)

Students at UC's Berkeley campus are receiving a dose of chocolate-covered science these days. Designed to give non-science majors a taste of botany, it's a course on "Chocolate: Its History, Botany, Nutrition, Production, Economics and Culinary Value." Professor John West, the botanist who teaches the two-credit course, says he became interested in the subject "because I like to make chocolate desserts." Also, he notes, the cocoa plant is the root of a $3.5 billion industry. The course, which includes a field trip to a Hershey plant, accommodates only 35 students, far fewer than the 50 to 700 that are usually enrolled in non-major classes. Thus, chocolate — which costs UC upwards of $8,500 a year — is a relatively expensive offering. But Botany chairman Russell Jones says you shouldn't think that way. "You can't approach this from a view of cost-effectiveness," he says. "This is the University of California. This is not Ohio State or some other diploma factory."

Spot bills — empty measures introduced by lawmakers so as to have a vehicle later for some as yet undreamed idea — tend to disrupt the legislative process and are therefore outlawed by house rules. But you'll never convince Democratic Assemblyman Jim Costa of Fresno that they're all bad. When the city of Coalinga, which is in his district, was devastated by an earthquake May 2nd, Costa had a spot bill on hand, into which he quickly amended $50 million for relief, not only for Coalinga but also for areas damaged by winter floods. If Costa hadn't been prepared, who knows what delays might have occurred? And who knows what other legislator might have slipped in a bill first, thus getting credit for all that relief?

Headline on a press release from Congressman Vic Fazio of Sacramento: "Sacramento High School Student Wins Honorabel Mention in Second Annual Arts Competion." And to Fazio, first prize for creative writing.

Apparently, arbitrators would rather not be called "mediators." In last month's "Roll Call" section, while reporting the defeat of a binding arbitration bill in the Senate, we inadvertently substituted the word "mediator" for "arbitrator." That brought a swift reply from an arbitrator, attorney Alan Rothstein of Daly City, who explains that the two are different. Mediators, he writes, merely help other people settle disputes while arbitrators must settle those disputes themselves. Mediators have yet to comment.

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Walter A. Zelman and **Harry M. Snyder** are Capitol lobbyists for Common Cause and Consumers Union, respectively. Thus they regard themselves as "good guy" lobbyists; that is, they see themselves as battlers against the powerful forces of evil special interests that are seeking to subvert motherhood and apple pie. And, like all others at the Capitol, Zelman and Snyder have developed a special language all their own. When, for instance, they tell a legislator, "The consumer community will really appreciate your support on this," they mean, "You'll get a part-time campaign volunteer and your picture in two or three newsletters." Or when they say, "We're pulling out all the stops on this one," they mean, "Five or six people have already written their legislators."

Zelman and Snyder say they have other special meanings as well. For instance, if needing seven votes to get a bill through a committee, they may say things like this:

"We're having a big consumer conference on this issue." (We don't have any votes.)

"We don't have the votes yet." (We have one vote, we need six more.)

"I don't think the pro tem has focused on it yet." (We're afraid to ask him about it.)

"We talked to someone in the speaker's office about it." (His secretary said the aide wasn't available.)

"We need some help on this one." (We need a miracle.)

Zelman and Snyder also hear a special language from legislators:

"I'll be in my office. Come get me when the committee is ready to vote." (You'll never find me.)

"I'll be your seventh vote." (You'll never get more than four.)

"Why didn't you bring your concerns to my attention sooner?" (It wouldn't have mattered, but now I've got you on the defensive.)

"I've always respected your organization and what you stand for, but. . ." (There's no way you're going to get my vote, but don't put me down as a bad guy in your newsletter.)

"I think the bill isn't strong enough." (No matter what you do, I've got an excuse.)

"I'll keep an open mind on it." (Forever.)

For those who wish to study the Legislature in its natural habitat, now is the time to start thinking about a state Senate Fellowship for 1984. Janet Riser, who handles the program, says the Rules Committee is sending out applications now for the 12 slots that will be available in November '84. Applicants must have a college degree by then. Those chosen receive $1,250 a month to work nine months or a year for a state senator or Senate committee. In what we think was meant as an inducement, Riser said, "They're treated just like members of the staff." The Assembly has a similar program, but Maeley Tom, who runs things there, said the lower house starts its recruitment in October.

An item in our May issue said that Wells Fargo Bank was one of three business organizations that were not giving campaign contributions during non-election years. Item writer Joan Reiss reports now that it isn't so. Reiss, who also does fund raising for the *Journal* (we're a very non-profit organization) says there was a miscommunication between her and a bank vice president. Does that mean that we get something next year, Joan?

Richard Traweek, the Los Angeles developer, says he'll continue giving campaign contributions even though they again could become weapons against him. Traweek wanted the Legislature to overturn a San Francisco condominium ordinance, but lawmakers voted down his bill in the face of newspaper publicity suggesting that they were ready to enact his measure only because of the money he had given them. Traweek says he is "soured" on some of the people involved, but "I'm not one of those who become so disenchanted with the process, they leave."

Conservatives among Assembly Republicans are not in the least sensitive about being known as "cavemen." In fact, several of them, along with some of their staffers, have formed a softball team by that name. Their uniform shirts say "Cavemen"; their caps say "Ugh." Lawmakers on the roster include Dennis Brown, Eric Seastrand, John Lewis and Frank Hill.

(Vic Pollard, Sacramento)

John (The Terrible) Briggs, the former state senator who once lobbed a book at an opponent on the Senate floor, has a new dispute going, this time with the governor's office. Briggs went into the lobbying business after quitting his Orange County seat in 1981 but last March launched a sideline business called "LegiVoice" that uses the Legislature's in-house broadcasting system. For a fee, a Briggs client anywhere may dial a number, provide identification and then listen to whatever is happening on the Senate floor, the Assembly floor or in any of 13 Capitol hearing rooms. The Legislature has been providing the service for years, piping its proceedings to loudspeakers in the offices of members and to the offices of news reporters and lobbyists near the Capitol. Briggs, it seems, is the first person to buy into the system (a "squawk box" costs about $400) for the purpose of reselling the service to others.

But there's a rub. There is a place that Briggs has been unable to tap: room 1190 in the Capitol, where press conferences — which can be important — are held. For reasons that go back to the dim past, it is controlled by the governor's office, not the Legislature, and the office won't

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let Briggs in. The stated reason is that lobbyists always have been denied the 1190 channel on their loudspeakers because the governor and other officials sometimes give background briefings to reporters there, and lobbyists aren't supposed to hear. Briggs says that in this case he's not a lobbyist; he simply wants to sell information, just as the reporters do. Tom Woods, president of the Capitol Correspondents Association, says reporters place such information in perspective, which Briggs wouldn't do. In any case, given his fiery temper, Briggs is being surprisingly calm about it all. About the only step he has considered, he says, is to get himself press credentials so that he can come to the Capitol as a reporter.

Meanwhile, there are other things to keep him occupied. In mid-June he was charged with a misdemeanor in connection with a shooting incident at his Sacramento-area home. A process server who was trying to deliver a civil summons to Briggs charges that Briggs fired a shot in his direction and then hit him in the face.

Fernando Chavez, eldest son of farm labor leader Cesar Chavez, is challenging incumbent Julio Calderon for the statewide presidency of the Mexican-American Political Association. He is opposed by MAPA conservatives who see him as an agent for his father's union. The election will take place at MAPA's 23rd annual convention July 22-24th in San Jose.

(Kenneth C. Burt, Sacramento)

Wanting to know how much it should be spending to staff the state's five superagencies, the Legislature asked the legislative analyst to find out. But the analyst drew a blank. "There is little detailed workload information about what agency staffs do," the analyst's report said.

Assembly Speaker Willie Brown, as we all know, has declared war on *Sacramento Bee* cartoonist Dennis Renault. The reason? A May 10th drawing suggesting that Brown had sold himself to a big campaign contributor who wanted the state to overturn a San Francisco condominium ordinance. At a news conference on the 11th, Brown accused Renault of a "personal hatred for me" and said ominously that he would take steps to find out why. Which brings us to Tom Meyer,

SF CONDO DEVELOPERS
TRAWLER COMPANY SPENDS $75,000 ON LAWMAKERS
WILLIE BROWN SAYS IT'S NOT FAIR
SPEAKER DISQUALIFIED FROM VOTING ON BILL

'I see the state Capitol as another condominium conversion project, RT; we used to rent legislators and now we own them.'

SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE CONDOS

who draws for the *San Francisco Chronicle*. After noting the flap, he produced a cartoon also suggesting that Brown had sold out on the condo issue. Was he trying to help Renault? Not at all, he says with a smile: "Whenever I see that some political figure, like the speaker, is down, my first impulse is to jump on the heap."

Democratic Assemblyman Lou Papan of South San Francisco is the latest carrier of legislation to prevent all but the wealthy (or foolhardy) from filing an environmental lawsuit. Under current law, virtually anyone may file suit to delay or block large public or private projects that would harm the environment. Developers contend, with some justification, that "no-growthers" have been filing frivolous suits against worthwhile projects. But rather than reform the law itself, they have sought legislation to prevent its being used at all. Essentially, they would penalize those who bring suit and lose. Under one early proposal, losers not only would pay each winner's attorney's fees but would pay damages to the winner as well. Given the unpredictability of the courts, such sanctions surely would stifle the process. In 1981, Democratic Assemblyman Art Agnos of San Francisco carried such a bill at the request of a developer friend who was providing him with low-interest loans and other financial favors at the time. However, unfavorable publicity caused him to water down its strongest provision. But now it's Papan's turn. Environmentalists are hoping to detour the measure into a long-range study of the whole environmental protection issue that is being planned by the Assembly Energy and Resources Committee. But Papan has said he won't go along.

Richard Thomson, who occasionally writes for this magazine, has every reason to give up on us. Last month, in an article on the legislative staff, we said he works for the Assembly Judiciary Committee. Actually, he works for Senate Judiciary. The error occurred just as he was getting over the fact that in an earlier issue we misspelled his name.

Paul Gann's latest initiative, the one to cut the Legislature's budget and give more power to the minority party, got upwards of $120,000 in "seed money" from Assembly Republicans. This is the money to start the mailings that bring in signatures and contributions from the public at large. GOP floor leader Bob Naylor says he gave $14,000. GOP Assemblyman Dick Mountjoy, who keeps track of such things, says two-thirds of lower house Republicans gave money, and there were contributions from the Senate as well. His contribution, he says, was $15,000.

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Why the GOP worries about bridging the gender gap

By JOANN HAMICK and TONY QUINN

If you're a woman in your late 20s or 30s, are college-educated, have delayed marriage and hold a well-paying job, California Republicans want you. Indeed, they *need* you if the party is to overcome what may be its No. 1 problem — the so-called gender gap.

With next year's elections uppermost in the minds of all politicians, there is growing unease among Republicans about the following facts:

- **About 53 percent** of the nation's registered voters are women.
- **Both in California** and nationwide, these women voters last fall favored Democrats by margins of 5 to 10 percent greater than did men. (In fact, if women alone had voted in California last November, Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley would be governor today.) In some other close races, women provided the Democratic margin of victory.

Acknowledging the existence of the gender gap will not be enough. The GOP is going to have to find the causes for it and then come up with a strategy to reduce it. Those two tasks have already been started in California. But fear is growing among the state's Republicans that — despite their own best efforts — they may suffer next year from the image problems of the Reagan Administration.

And polling after last fall's gubernatorial election suggests another basic problem for the GOP: The very women who should be attracted to the Republicans — young, college-educated and professional — were voting more heavily Democratic than were other women. Working women under age 45 gave Bradley 61 percent of their votes; older women gave him only 43 percent. All working women voted Democratic invariably more than non-working women, according to the two post-election studies by the Republican polling firm of V. Lance Tarrance and Associates.

Political division based on gender is not new, but it has manifested itself in an entirely unexpected manner since 1980. That was the year that the Republican convention decided to drop the Equal Rights Amendment from its platform. The Republican leaders saw ERA as an attack on family stability when they removed it from the platform after 40 years of support. Women, particularly younger working women, see it as a symbol of economic equality, and read the GOP's oppositionn to ERA as opposition to better jobs and pay.

But it was not just ERA that created the gender gap. One of the oldest concerns to female voters — the question of war and peace — has re-emerged. Throughout history, successful politicians have appealed to women on a peace platform. In 1940, Franklin Roosevelt capped his third quest for the presidency with the promise: "Mothers of America, your boys will not be sent into foreign wars."

As it was, he notably failed to keep this promise, and successful Republican campaigns since 1952 have centered on war and peace. Eisenhower ran against the Korean War and Nixon twice promised peace in Vietnam. Ronald Reagan tarred the hapless Carter Administration with the fiasco in Iran and with America's international weakness.

The gender gap first showed up in Reagan's 1980 campaign. The last pre-election polls showed Reagan leading President Jimmy Carter by 20 points among men, but running even among women. Reaganites contend this proved the gender gap is really Reagan's strength among men, rather than weakness among women.

But there are signs this may not be so. In May 1982, a CBS poll found that half the women interviewed feared Reagan would get the nation into a war; by a 2-to-1 margin men thought he would not. Possibly this is a tribute to Reagan's hard line against Communist expansion, at least among men, but more likely it is testament to the growing concern that Reagan's rhetoric is costing the Republicans their

Joann Hamick is press secretary to Assembly Republican Leader Bob Naylor. Tony Quinn is policy director for the Assembly Republican Caucus.

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"peace" dividend among women.

The gender difference carried over to the 1982 congressional elections where, as pollster Tarrance has found, there was a "nationalization of the issues at the state level." In two nationwide post-election polls, women said they voted Democratic by 57 percent and 59 percent margins; men by just 54 percent. In similar polls in 1978, there was no sex-related difference.

An expanding range

There also are signs that the range of women's concerns is expanding dramatically in the '80s. "No longer can a candidate assume he or she has the women's vote simply by appealing to traditional issues such as the Equal Rights Amendment or equal employment," says Donna Kingwell, a top analyst in the Tarrance organization. "The whole agenda for women has expanded." According to Kingwell, who heads Tarrance's Sacramento office, today's woman voter has become "sophisticated" and is "voting her self-interests." Besides the ERA and abortion, those interests have grown to include economic equality in the workplace, protection of the environment, crime and world peace. On virtually all of these new "women's issues," Democrats are coming up the winners, while Republicans have so far been largely unsuccessful in demonstrating their concern.

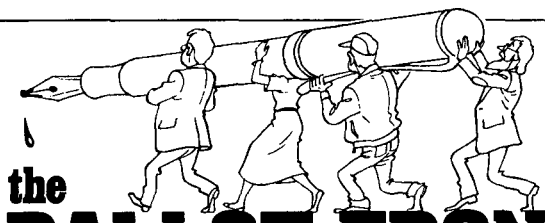
President Reagan has been saddled with much of the blame for Republicans' negative image with women. Those pointing fingers of blame at the president have included some prominent, loyal Republicans. For example, a former Republican U.S. Senate candidate from New York and the first woman member of the New York Stock Exchange, Muriel Siebert, recently delivered a scathing attack on what she called the GOP's "intentional" alienation of women under President Reagan's leadership.

Sieberg called on the party to stop acting with "condescension and neglect" toward women and their concerns. Siebert claimed that a change by the party could result in Republicans winning over moderate women who are "uncomfortable with radical feminism."

Reagan suffered another blow to his image when his own National Federation of Republican Women met with him recently and accused him of being somewhere between apathetic and "anti-women." His personal opposition to the ERA and his failure to push any alternative economic-equity bill also have hurt him.

Then Reagan loses twice on his social program cutbacks. First, he loses because women more readily "simplify issues to how they will affect the family and children," according to Kingwell. The president loses a second time among the growing number of women who find themselves among the ranks of the poor — victims of what has been called the "femininization of poverty."

Yet some political observers claim Reagan's troubles stem from a failure of communication. Pointing particularly to the appointment of the first woman Supreme Court justice, Republican activist Karen Spencer says, "I honestly don't think Reagan is anti-women." Spencer is a Sacramento-based lobbyist and daughter of Reagan adviser Stu Spencer. She claims that Reagan's statements on defense and the economy have given him the image of not being a caring man." Spencer claims the sluggish economy has added to Reagan's difficulties with women, and that "as the economy turns around, it should take care of part of his gender gap problem."



the BALLOT FRONT

A roundup of statewide initiative proposals. (Signatures required and deadlines are in parentheses.)

In circulation:

• **LEGISLATURE, RULES, PROCEDURES, POWERS, FUNDING** — an initiative statute to specify membership on Senate and Assembly committees, to require a two-thirds vote of each house and specified legislative committees on rules, committee assignments, appointments by the Assembly speaker and disbursements of funds, to reduce (by 30 percent) legislative support appropriations, to limit future growth to the same rate as overall state spending and to require public reports and audits of the Legislature. (393,835, October 7th)

• **BALANCED FEDERAL BUDGET**— an initiative statute requesting Congress to call a constitutional convention to pass a requirement for a balanced federal budget. (393,835, September 16th)

• **REAPPORTIONMENT OF ASSEMBLY, SENATE AND CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS** — an initiative statute to repeal Democratically drawn boundary lines approved by the Legislature in January and to replace them with districts drawn by GOP Assemblyman Don Sebastiani. (393,835, September 1st)

• **SPACE STATION** — an initiative statute mandating the governor to deliver a statement to the president requesting a permanently manned space station be established by NASA before 1990. (393,835, October 17th)

• **MARIJUANA-HEMP** — an initiative statute (the 13th) drive to legalize and provide amnesty for personal use of marijuana for persons 18 and older. (393,835, October 14th)

• **UTILITY RATES** — a constitutional amendment that requires a 50 percent increase in gas and electric lifeline allowances to residential users, higher energy allocations to medically eligible users, 30 percent higher lifeline allowances to, among others, senior citizens and agricultural users; requires rate structures be redesigned so that larger users pay larger per unit costs for consumption of gas and electricity and prohibits, before 1988, lifeline rate increases beyond those of January 1st, 1981. (680,136, October 17th)

Failed to qualify:

• **GOVERNMENT PENSION PLANS** — a constitutional amendment initiative designed to require all new employees after January 1st, 1985, to enroll in the federal Social Security program.

Qualified for next election:

No initiatives to date.

Source: Secretary of State March Fong Eu.

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California Republicans are increasingly looking toward the state's new number one Republican — Governor George Deukmejian — to act as an image buffer between themselves and the president. Governor Deukmejian entered office with a mixed record on women's issues. He supported the ERA but opposed a time extension for its ratification. Deukmejian captured the older women's vote, largely on the issue of crime; his hard-line stance apparently appealed to women over 45.

Deukmejian's first few months in office offered only glimpses of what is to come in the later years of his administration. However, four months after taking office, Deukmejian was honored by a newly formed group of California Republican women for appointing more women in the first 100 days of office than any other governor in the state's history. Deukmejian also has chosen one of his top staff members, Doug Watts, to serve as liaison for women's concerns. Administrative insiders predict a sincere but low-keyed approach to women's concerns from Deukmejian. "The governor has been good with his women's appointments — better than any other governor so far," says Spencer. "I find the man totally fair . . . He is quiet and comfortable around women, and he uses the same standards for all, men or women."

Deukmejian does not, however, receive passing grades from Democratic Assemblywoman Maxine Waters, a leading women's advocate on the other side of the aisle. "I don't think a sensitivity by the governor toward women has come through yet," says Waters. "The appointments he has made could have taken place 10 years ago. You have to go beyond just what would happen naturally and have some strong recruitment."

And there are those who think that some of Deukmejian's economic policies may prove troubling to women voters. "The governor is a self-made individual with many inner strengths," says GOP Assemblywoman Marian LaFollette. "But because of this, he may be unaware that there are people who cannot make it on their own — women as well as men."

Making a home

Several efforts are under way in California to improve the Republican image among women voters and demonstrate more concern about women's issues. A new group of about 35 Republican women has been organized to research issues and influence California Republican views. Spencer, one of the California Women's Alliance founders, describes CWA as "an outside group of professional women." Their first act was to sponsor the reception honoring Governor Deukmejian and his women appointees.

"We've all had pretty extensive political experience and we've all known each other for years," says Spencer. "We are moderate and we support the ERA. Our main goal is to make a home in the Republican Party for women."

A second, mostly Republican women's group, called Aurora, has been formed to educate and train more women for public office. However, the group will not endorse candidates. The Republican National Committee also is forming women's task forces throughout the country. The groups will be charged with relaying information to President Reagan on women's concerns.

In the California Legislature there will be increased efforts by Republicans to demonstrate concern for women. Assemblywoman Cathie Wright is carrying two measures designed to improve the state's enforcement of child-support payments due women by absent fathers. The legislation is part of the governor's welfare reform package.

If these efforts work, what type of woman should Republicans most easily attract to their side? The women, called "vanguards" by one study, went to college, delayed marriage, are professionally successful and tend to be opinion leaders. "If these women were men, they would be Republicans," says Spencer. "These are the women Republicans must target."

Questions remain on specific strategies for best attracting women voters in campaigns. Candidates, particularly women candidates, fear becoming "one-issue candidates" — branded, as Assemblywoman Waters says, "wild-eyed feminists." Waters claims a candidate attracts women voters just by being sensitive to the whole range of everyday concerns the average woman has. "Jobs, health care — the average woman understands these because she has lived them," says Waters.

Assemblywoman LaFollette wants to avoid the one-issue brand. "I have a long list of other concerns I must address on behalf of all my constituents," says LaFollette. "I don't feel I can narrow my activities to one cause. Where I can do the most good for all women is to improve the economy of the state."

A stake in change

Perhaps the greatest difficulty Republicans have with today's women is the party's image as being for preservation of traditional values, at a time when women have a stake in change. A tremendous economic shift has occurred in America over the past 15 years, an explosion in the number of female heads of household and new pressures on younger families hoping for a middle-class lifestyle. A home mortgage that cost $300 a month 10 years ago now may run $1,000 or $1,200. In case after case, both members of a young family have found it necessary to work. This is not a phenomenon of the welfare family but rather of the young suburbanites, stretching to make ends meet in the middle class. Women seeking jobs in this age and economic group tend to look for employment beyond the traditional female roles, yet they face a situation where the average women earns just 59 cents to every dollar earned by men.

Official Republican opposition to ERA has given Democrats a bonanza among younger female voters, to whom they can appeal on the issue of job opportunities. Already this year Democrats in the Assembly have jammed through a resolution favoring ERA, hoping to force as many Republican "no" votes as possible. In Congress, a concerted effort will be made to send ERA back to the states for a second ratification campaign, with the Democrats assured they have a potent issue to gain women votes.

Republican margins in California and the nation are relatively narrow and depend heavily on a huge suburban edge to offset central-city Democratic voting. While the unpopularity of Governor Jerry Brown with suburban voters helped hold up GOP suburban margins in California in 1982, he won't be there to kick around in 1984. Elsewhere in America, Republicans did poorly with young suburbanites last November.

Republicans need to hold this suburban constituency in 1984, but the traditional GOP approach may need some refurbishing. Barbara Bryant, an analyst for Market Opinion Research, has divided women voters into 12 categories and notes that support for Democrats has risen dramatically among several categories of women voters who should be Republican.

Professional and executive women are particularly crucial. This is a woman, writes Bryant, "who's made it herself and may be married to a man who's also made it. By background and social class she should be a Republican; her husband certainly is. However, she is most in favor of improving women's status. Republicans are making a big mistake in driving these women into the Democratic fold — they are part of our gender gap. This group should be our natural base."

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For the Duke and the press, a professional relationship

By A. G. BLOCK

If there is one aspect of his administration that defines the difference in style between George Deukmejian and his predecessor, it's his relationship with the press.

"Jerry Brown ran things by the seat of his pants," explains Dan Walters, Capitol bureau chief for the *Sacramento Union*. "These (Deukmejian) people have an agenda. They know what they're doing."

After 16 years of what one editor calls "flash and dash" in the governor's office (Reagan's "flash," Brown's "dash"), the structured approach of Deukmejian press secretary Larry Thomas and his staff almost seems abnormal to members of the Capitol press corps.

Unlike the previous administration, whose official word on policy came from Governor Brown or Chief of Staff Gray Davis, Deukmejian has a traditional press office where Thomas enjoys authority to speak for the governor.

Early on in the administration, Thomas attempted to set up formal press briefings at which — rather than having Deukmejian present to answer questions — Thomas would tell reporters what the governor planned to do. This proposal sparked press howls about an "imperial governorship" and was quickly abandoned.

The formal press office structure remained, however, and has made Deukmejian both "more and less available" to the press than was Jerry Brown, according to Doug Willis, bureau chief for Associated Press. More available, says Willis, because the administration sets up regular press conferences about every three weeks, publishes an advance text of all the governor's speeches and messages and provides a weekly schedule of personal appearances. Reporters can normally look forward to several minutes of "press availability" after each of those appearances.

Less available, Willis says, because reporters are not likely to find George Deukmejian posted in a back booth at Frank Fat's or other Scramento watering hole where anyone who wants to ask him a question can fire away.

You could always get to Jerry Brown one-on-one, say a number of reporters, and the inability to do the same with Deukmejian is a major criticism of his press operation so far.

"There isn't much in-depth access," says Ed Salzman, Capitol bureau chief for *The Sacramento Bee*.

Breakfast and lunch

Access to the governor is a classic problem, according to Thomas. "Everyone wants the governor one-on-one, wants something special," he says, "and to sort it out makes me something like a judge in a beauty contest."

Thomas explains that he has tried to close the distance between the governor and the press by scheduling breakfasts with the governor for small groups of reporters, lunches with the editorial boards of various newspapers, interviews with wire service chiefs and several of those precious one-on-one interviews.

"The one-on-one interview is overrated, anyway," Thomas argues. "It's more a factor of ego for the reporter. There's nothing magic in it."

Thus far, according to Thomas' office, the governor has granted only four one-on-ones, two of them to television reporters.

For his part, Thomas says the administration has few complaints with the press, and that, as a general rule, the governor has been treated fairly and professionally.

"There are some notable exceptions," he says, but will not elaborate beyond adding, "Some people have philosophical differences with the governor that get in the way of fairness."

Thomas, however, did say that he has objected to the way the governor's side of an issue has, or has not, been presented. In February, for instance, he complained to *The Sacramento Bee* that while criticisms of the governor's budget stand received space, Deukmejian's responses never seemed to make the paper. After *Bee* bureau chief Salzman told him the governor had been cut out due to space restrictions, Thomas privately suggested his boss's views be placed higher in a story, so as not to always end up as city desk scrap.

Restroom graffiti

Generally, members of the Capitol press corps characterize their entire relationship with the administration as "professional," with complaints focused on delays in returning phone calls or getting timely information from Thomas and his assistants, Kevin Brett and Donna Lipper.

Says one reporter, "We don't like waiting around for three hours just to get a 'no comment.' "

"They're improving," says another. "But for a while, there was graffiti in some restrooms that said, 'Larry Thomas, return your phone calls.' "

Thomas, who says calls are always returned, explains the problem as a matter of balance. To be effective, the press secretary must be privy to the governor's inner circle and must sit in on many meetings. But those meetings chew up time and prevent him from personally returning some calls — a task for Brett and Lipper.

According to both Thomas and many reporters, sensitivity to daily deadlines will further improve this month when former *Sacramento Union* reporter Bob Taylor joins the governor's press team. Prior to signing on with the governor, Taylor covered the Capitol for six years, is highly respected and familiar with the pressures faced by reporters who operate under deadlines.

While George Deukmejian will never achieve what one reporter calls "the star quality" of Jerry Brown, neither will his plans and policies be upset by what appears in print or on the five o'clock news. According to one bureau chief, Deukmejian recognizes that the press is part of the landscape and his response to it will reflect his desire to communicate carefully.

"He won't have his chain jerked around by the press like Jerry Brown did," says Walters.

A. G. Block is a free-lance writer in Sacramento.

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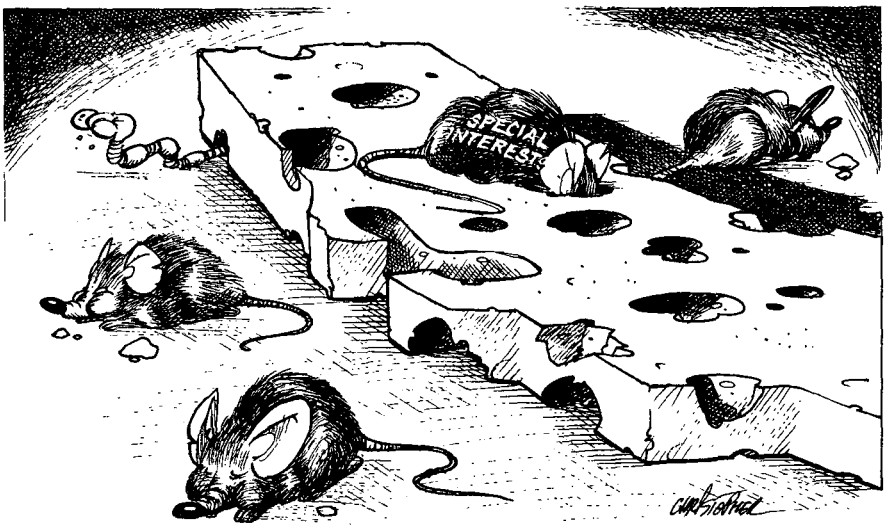
Tax loopholes lose exemption from regular legislative debate



By DAN WALTERS

Capitol Records had a problem.

The Los Angeles-based entertainment company, a subsidiary of British-based EMI Limited, was being dunned by the state for about $1 million in back sales taxes. The issue was master recording tapes, the tapes from which Capitol and other record companies make their records.

The state contended that Capitol leased the tapes from the persons who owned them -- mostly artists — and therefore should pay a sales tax, just as the ordinary citizen pays when he or she leases or rents a car. Capitol replied that it was buying a service from the artists. Since services are not taxable, there should be no tax, just as there is none for the ordinary citizen who hires an attorney to write a will.

Capitol took its case to court and lost. (An appeal is pending.) But it came to Sacramento as well. And there, in 1975, feeding off the clout that the movie and recording industry enjoys in politics, Capitol won a sales-tax exemption for its master tapes, the same sort of exemption that the motion picture industry had obtained years earlier.

Senator Alan Robbins, whose San Fernando Valley district is laced with entertainment industry employees, carried the Capitol bill. And then-Governor Jerry Brown, whose many campaigns had been heavily fueled with entertainment industry money (and whose sometime girlfriend, singer Linda Ronstadt, was involved in master tape leases), readily signed the bill.

A new tax loophole thus was born. It's an exemption that costs the taxpayers of California $2.5 million per year in lost revenue. In 1982 — when the state was flirting with bankruptcy — the recording industry did it again. It gained passage of another bill that extended the sales-tax exemption to the fabrication costs of the original master tapes, thus making the entire recording process a sales-tax-free enterprise. That added another $5.5 million to the annual revenue loss.

The recording industry tax breaks are two of hundreds that have been enacted by the Legislature in the past half-century. Scarcely a year passes, regardless of the state's financial condition, that the Legislature doesn't do some special interest group a favor by granting it a tax break of some kind. Gaining tax breaks is one of the most valuable things a lobbyist can do for his clients because of the large sums involved.

A first-class lobbying campaign, including a couple of hundred thousand dollars in campaign contributions, may cost under $500,000. But a tax break gained by that campaign could easily be worth five or six times that amount each year in lower taxes — money that goes directly into the pockets of the special interests involved, without any overhead.

To tax experts inside and outside the Legislature, these breaks are called "tax expenditures" because they have the same fiscal effect as a direct subsidy appropriated in the budget. And that ordinarily is the reason a special interest group uses: a plea that without the subsidy in the form of a tax break, a particular industry will either fail to develop or will move to some other state.

That was the reason given in 1945 for a sales-tax exemption on commercial aircraft — to foster the growth of the then-infant Southern California aircraft industry.

That was the reason given in 1982 for a sales tax break for custom computer programs — to prevent the industry from leaving California.

That was the reason Jerry Brown cited in 1976 in pushing through a whopping 55 percent tax credit for solar energy installations — to give a struggling industry a shot in the arm while conserving fossil fuels and avoiding nuclear power.

Through the decades, the tax breaks enacted by the Legislature have piled one upon another until they total, in current dollars, more than $9 billion per year in lost revenue.

Many granted, few killed

The state first started keeping track of the tax expenditures in 1972. They amounted to just over $2 billion then. The 300 percent-plus growth in tax expenditures since then outstrips the growth of revenues (234 percent).

So few have been eliminated, in fact, that the Department of Finance, which prepares the annual report on tax breaks, proposed early this year to do away with it.

"Over the years, recommendations have been made to limit tax expenditures," the Department of Finance said in its 1983 version. "Unfortunately, the report seems to have had little impact, since a number of tax expenditures have been adopted over

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the last decade. Even the sunsetting recommendation, partially adopted, has proved to be ineffective since a tax expenditure, once enacted, is easily re-enacted upon its expiration. Special interest groups have been too effective in maintaining their special privileges to achieve any significant reform."

But, those pessimistic words aside, suddenly there is renewed interest in getting a handle on California's runaway tax breaks. The reason: California's treasury has been flirting with red ink and the state's taxpayers seemingly show little inclination to accept increases in any of the broadly based taxes. Closing loopholes, if it can be done, promises big revenue gains without offending the bulk of California taxpayers.

The Legislature's own fiscal adviser, Legislative Analyst William Hamm, started the ball rolling a year ago when he proposed to eliminate more than $600 million in tax breaks to relieve pressure on the budget. Noting that the indirect subsidies contained in tax loopholes go on year after year, without the direct control that the Legislature exerts over ordinary expenditures, Hamm concluded:

"In fact, it is likely that the plethora of special provisions added to the tax system over the years has drastically increased the opportunities for tax evasion and cheating and at the same time given many taxpayers the impression that the tax system is inequitable."

Martin Huff, who served for years as the state's top income tax collector (executive officer of the Franchise Tax Board), described the situation this way: "None of those (tax breaks) has ever been justified. They are emotional. There is no rationality to them. No one has ever made a cost-benefit case. They are all bleeding heart cases, and if you look at it from that point of view, you can't say no."

Brown's golden era

But as long as Jerry Brown occupied the governor's office, there was little chance that the tax expenditures his own tax advisers criticized would be eliminated. The eight-year Brown governorship was a golden era for the special interests who came to Sacramento seeking breaks. Dozens of tax breaks were enacted during his reign — not only the solar energy credit and the recording industry loopholes, but special treatment for the horse racing industry ($30 million per year), a sales-tax exemption for cargo containers ($150 million per year) and many others.

And Brown gave no support to the relatively feeble efforts during his governorship to close some of the tax loopholes that had outlived whatever social utility they once may have had. The prevailing theory during the 1970s was that nothing could be done about tax loopholes — except expand their number — because special interest lobbyists could block any repeal move.

The entrenchment of the tax loophole forces was demonstrated as never before in 1982, even as the state struggled to find money to meet its obligations. No fewer than 12 tax breaks were passed by the Legislature and signed by outgoing Governor Brown — tax breaks that added another $52 million-plus to the mounting loophole bill.

But beginning last January, a new attitude on tax loopholes began to develop — one that mirrored what Hamm had been saying six months earlier. It was time to begin looking seriously at tax loopholes as a way to gain revenue without further burdening all of the taxpayers.

The new Republican governor, George Deukmejian, gave an early indication of the new climate by proposing to eliminate the solar tax credit that had been one of his predecessor's prouder achievements. The solar credit (which Huff once called "welfare for the wealthy") isn't critical to the solar industry, primarily affects such luxury items as swimming pools and spas and is claimed primarily by high-income persons, the administration argued.

That, as expected, brought a protest from the solar industry, which predicted widespread bankruptcy should the solar credit be dropped. Deukmejian later signaled a willingness to compromise on the issue, but clearly the first salvo of the 1983 tax loophole wars had been fired.

Then something else occurred. As part of his effort to balance the 1983-84 budget without a tax increase, Deukmejian had appointed "government efficiency teams," one of which recommended eliminating nearly a half billion dollars worth of tax loopholes. Deukmejian accepted the recommendation and submitted it as a budget-balancing device to the Legislature in mid-May.

The action was unprecedented and launched weeks of legislative wrangling. But after decades of steadily punching more and more holes into the tax codes, the state's political leadership appeared ready to close some. Loopholes were no longer the forbidden topic of political debate.

Whose loopholes?

Not all loopholes provide benefits to some narrow special interest alone. Many benefit the population as a whole. Everyone who has a home mortgage, for instance, may benefit from the interest deduction, the biggest loophole of all. Following is a sample of some special and not-so-special large loopholes:

The biggest tax breaks
(in annual value):

Interest deductibility (income tax)	$1.8 billion
Food consumed at home (sales tax)	1.25 billion
Gas, electricity and water (sales tax)	885 million
Personal tax credits (income tax)	665 million

The biggest special-interest tax breaks
(in annual value):

Capital gains exclusion (income tax)	$465 million
Vessels and aircraft exemption (sales tax)	280 million
Cargo and returnable containers (sales tax)	150 million
Solar tax credit (income tax)	75 million
Candy exemption (sales tax)	70 million

— D.W.

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The budget and other headaches of Finance Director Michael Franchetti

By VIC POLLARD

The case of the missing bicycle was the least of the problems faced by Michael Franchetti when he assumed his job as Governor George Deukmejian's director of finance.

It came to light when someone in the new administration decided to check out the office the state had long maintained in Washington, D.C., for lobbying purposes, headed by a governor's operative who was nominally a deputy director of finance. One thing they found out was that under the Jerry Brown regime, "One of the staff members had gotten the state to buy a Peugeot bicycle," Franchetti says. "So we made some inquiries about the State Bicycle, and we found out that it had been sold to the person who had been riding it. We asked how much it was sold for. Fifty dollars. Had the proper procedures been followed and so forth? 'Oh yes — we advertised for bids in the *Washington Post*' — which cost a hundred and fifty dollars!"

Franchetti likes the story because it highlights what he believes was a deterioration in the basic management of state government under the unorthodox approach of the Brownies. The 40-year-old Franchetti has spent his entire career in government so far, although he insists he plans to leave it soon, and his sense of professionalism is offended by what he saw happening in the Brown years.

"It really came home during the transition when we kept getting stories that the key managers, agency secretaries and so on, really had very little control over what was going on," he says. "Somebody would see Governor Brown in the hallway and chat with him about something, and all of a sudden *that* was what was going on." Whether things were really that bad is hard to say, but it's clear that Franchetti sees himself as a man whose job it is to know what's going on.

Vic Pollard, a Capitol reporter for Gannett News Service, is a frequent contributor to the Journal.

As director of finance, he is the governor's chief fiscal officer, charged not only with preparing and administering the state budget, but also with selling the governor's version of that budget to the Legislature. To do the job, he and his 369-person department must evaluate the financial needs of every state agency and reconcile those needs with anticipated revenues and the administration's spending priorities.

One of Franchetti's biggest problems initially was his own department. "Brown did not use his director of finance, especially in those last few years, as the governor should," Franchetti says. He believes that Brown undercut his finance director, Mary Ann Graves, by often dealing directly with her assistant director, Cliff Allenby. The tension created by that policy eventually drove a wedge between the department's two top executives.

During Brown's final months in office, Graves demoted Allenby, a veteran budget expert highly respected by lawmakers and state agencies. This action angered Allenby's friends in the Legislature and further eroded morale within a department already suffering from the transfer and firing of key personnel.

Once in office, Franchetti quickly restored Allenby, giving him his former job as assistant director and assigning him the job of dealing with the Legislature on the budget. The man who had replaced Allenby, Chon Gutierrez, was retained in his assistant director's job and was assigned to department administration.

The Dymally leak

In the Legislature, Franchetti gets generally good marks despite some lingering bad feelings about his leaking of an unsubstantiated report during the 1978 elections that Lieutenant Governor Mervyn Dymally was about to be indicted. The Dymally incident made Franchetti's confirmation prospects a touch-and-go proposition for a while. It began when Franchetti, then working on the staff of GOP Attorney General Evelle Younger, told a campaign worker,

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Sheldon Lytton, about a confidential memorandum based on a rumor, transmitted by a newsman, that Dymally was about to be indicted on charges of corruption. Lytton leaked it to a television newsman who broadcast the story.

Dymally, who was running for re-election as lieutenant governor at the time, blamed the incident for his defeat at the hands of Republican Mike Curb. In a bitter tirade recently before the Rules Committee, Dymally, now a congressman, said Franchetti's actions were "unprofessional, unethical, inappropriate and border on, if not in fact, criminal." He also has filed a $1 million lawsuit against Franchetti and Lytton, claiming they conducted a campaign of illegal "dirty tricks" against him five years ago.

Franchetti's strategy for dealing with the cloud over him was to meet personally with most of the major players in the confirmation process ahead of time. He offered a frank confession that he was guilty of an "error in judgment" which would never happen again, expressed deep sympathy for the suffering he had caused Dymally's family and asked for forgiveness. But Franchetti also refused to apologize to Dymally unless he retracted charges that Franchetti "engineered his defeat" and was "responsible" for an FBI investigation of him.

The successful confirmation fight was also aided by a heavy behind-the-scenes lobbying campaign mounted by the Italian-American community and aimed at Senate President pro Tem David Roberti, also of Italian descent. Another factor may have been that attention was diverted from Franchetti's problems by two other Deukmejian nominees who had even heavier opposition. They were Parks and Recreation Director Carol Hallett, the quarrelsome former Assembly GOP leader who was summarily rejected by the Senate, and Victor Veysey, nominee for director of the Department of Industrial Relations, the target of a bitter opposition campaign by organized labor.

Although the new administration may be a smoother-running machine internally than the Brown organization, there is evidence that the Deukmejian team still has some things to learn about dealing with legislators and others in the outside world. Like Franchetti, most top members of the administration are governmental veterans, and they have avoided many of the gaffes of Ronald Reagan's first few years in the statehouse. Nevertheless, they have had their share of coughs and sputters in the start-up phase, and because most of the problems involved the budget crisis, Franchetti has been at the center of them.

The first one came even before the new administration took office, during the special session of the Legislature convened last December after the magnitude of the $1.5 million budget deficit became clear. From the outside, it looked like an Alphonse-Gaston act, with Governor Brown saying it was up to Governor-elect Deukmejian to deal with the problem and Deukmejian keeping silent — apparently taking the position that he had no business interfering until he was in office. But Franchetti says that it was all a miscalculation on the part of the governor-elect's team.

While everyone was waiting for signals from the Deukmejian camp on how he thought the crisis should be resolved, Franchetti says now, Deukmejian and his people thought they *were* sending signals. "The judgment was made that we thought the Legislature was going to solve the problem," Franchetti says. "Up until the last week (of the December session) we thought they were going to end up with a tax increase and knock that deficit down very low. . . We were all hoping that *they* would solve it."

However, Deukmejian stopped short of endorsing such a move, either publicly or privately. "He felt that the only option he would have was (to say) he was in favor of a tax increase, and they would ask him to support it and he didn't want to do that, as he doesn't now." Franchetti said the governor-elect went as far as he thought he could by assuring fellow Republicans in the Legislature that he would not hold it against them if they voted for a tax increase. "We didn't say we supported it, but we did say we weren't going to criticize you or blast you or anything. 'If you guys think that's the way to do it, do it,'" he recalls the message. "'But once he (Deukmejian) comes into office, he feels bound by his campaign pledge and by his approach to things, that he could not be in support of that (tax increase).'"

The admission that Deukmejian was crossing his fingers in hopes someone would raise taxes for him comes as a surprise even today to GOP lawmakers who were dealing with the governor's people at the time. "He did say he wouldn't hold it against us," one of them recalls privately. But the legislator also says that he remembers getting no stronger signals.

The difficulty may have been not only a failure to communicate but also a misjudgment of the aversion to tax increases among Assembly Republicans — a lesson the Deukmejian Administration appears not to have learned yet. In February, Deukmejian was nearly reduced to tears by opposition to his budget bailout compromise from the Assembly GOP caucus, dominated by its so-called "cavemen." As late as May, most members of the feisty caucus rebelled against the governor's plan to close "unwarranted tax loopholes," bluntly calling it a tax increase and criticizing the governor for not discussing it with them before his press announcement.

Franchetti acknowledges that the administration has had its problems in communicating with both Republicans

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and Democrats and he loyally shoulders the blame himself. "I have a tendency to understate things," he says. "By that I mean that instead of telling someone to go get that chair, I might say, 'It would be nice if you would go get that chair.' I found that, in dealing with some of the legislators, I was indicating that the governor would be receptive to a standby tax. . . It just did not sink in that we were sending a lot of signals, until we hit them over the head with it, so to speak."

Franchetti's complaint that the Legislature just doesn't understand him may well be true, but there is also evidence that he has not entirely avoided his predecessor's vulnerability to being undercut by the governor or members of his inner circle. During the budget bailout debate, for example, a number of lawmakers noted that Franchetti appeared to be pushing the standby tax at times, only to pull back after talking with the governor or his executive assistant, Steve Merksamer.

But Franchetti also encounters a growing credibility gap when he keeps telling everyone that he does not intend to stay in his job beyond another year or so. In fact, he says he accepted the job with reluctance. "I didn't want to stay on in government. I was reaching the age, approximately 40, when I could see that I now had the opportunity to open a law practice and establish a financial cushion for myself before I was 55 or 60. . . I was just tired of government and I wanted to try the private sector."

Unlike his predecessor, Franchetti came to his job already familiar with the Legislature and many of its members. From 1971 through 1978 he was the Department of Justice lobbyist for then-Attorney General Younger, spending much of his time trying to push law-and-order bills through the Assembly's liberal-oriented Criminal Justice Committee. He also knew Deukmejian during his years as a Republican state senator from Long Beach. When Deukmejian ran for attorney general in 1978, Franchetti was one of his early supporters. After Deukmejian won that race, Franchetti became his top aide in the Justice Department.

Franchetti clearly resents having to spend weeknights away from his home in Tiburon. His wife, Tiffany, is a trial deputy in the attorney general's office, now working for Democrat John Van de Kamp. It is his second marriage, and they met under the worst possible circumstances in 1979, just after Franchetti had been named chief deputy attorney general, when he went in to deal with a staff rebellion in the San Francisco office.

"They were very unhappy with some things we had done," he recalls. "We walked into this meeting, and there was this very attractive blonde lady sitting on the edge of the table. I asked her if she would like this empty chair beside me, and I got this very cold stare, and 'No.'" They got off on a better footing later when Tiffany, a former advertising executive, was brought to Sacramento temporarily to work on a crime prevention program.

Franchetti, a graduate of the University of San Francisco Law School who joined the attorney general's office in 1969, appears to be serious when he says he plans to start rebuilding the Department of Finance, see the governor through the worst of the budget crisis and then say goodbye.

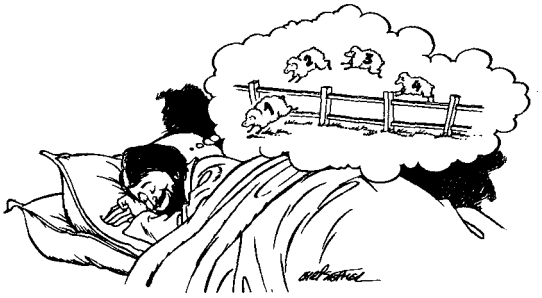
"The job has been a very interesting one," he says. "I have really enjoyed it in some ways, but there are other things I want to do."

Ballot Propositions Preferred

By HARVEY A. ENGLANDER

(Editor's note: Harvey Englander has been in the political campaign consulting business for 15 years, the last 2½ of which have been as proprietor of his own firm, The Englander Group, in Newport Beach. During all that time, he says, he has handled many ballot propositions and candidates. And, all things considered, he prefers the former. These are his reasons.)

Ballot propositions don't have spouses.
Ballot propositions don't demand that their photos be retouched.
Ballot propositions don't call you on weekends, or late at night.
Ballot propositions don't have best friends who must be consulted on every decision.
Ballot propositions don't have children who need "paid" jobs in the campaign.
Ballot propositions don't care what their campaign colors are.
Ballot propositions aren't jealous of other clients.
Ballot propositions don't have arrest records.
Ballot propositions never worry.
Ballot propositions don't fret about their placement on the ballot.
Ballot propositions don't have wives who demand that their photos be retouched.
Ballot propositions don't keep bringing up their consultant's fees at every finance meeting.
Ballot propositions don't care what printer is being used.



Ballot propositions aren't paranoid about the opposition seeing their mail.
Ballot propositions don't worry about being single or finding children to have in their brochure pictures.
Ballot propositions don't have good sides when you photograph them.
Ballot propositions don't throw up just before TV interviews.
Ballot propositions don't get caught in "delicate situations."
Ballot propositions don't have former spouses.
Ballot propositions don't have squeaky voices in radio ads.
Ballot propositions haven't filed for bankruptcy.
Ballot propositions don't get insulted by their opponents and demand revenge.
Ballot propositions don't dispute survey results.
Ballot propositions don't speak "off the cuff."

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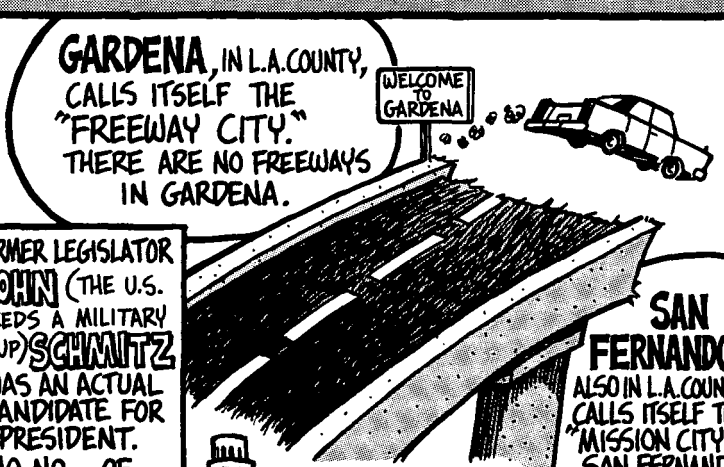
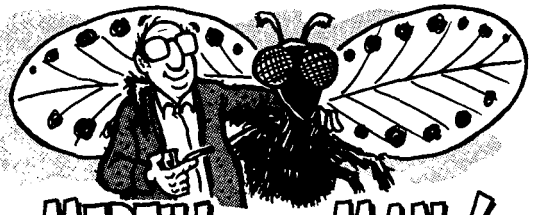
California Believe It, why Not!

by STEVE GREENBERG (WITH APOLOGIES TO RIPLEY)

GARDENA, IN L.A. COUNTY, CALLS ITSELF THE "FREEWAY CITY." THERE ARE NO FREEWAYS IN GARDENA.





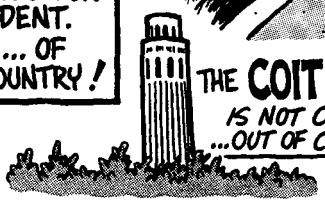
MEDFLY BIG AS A MAN!

THE MAN IS LEFTY McQUIMBLY OF VISALIA, WHO STANDS .185 INCHES TALL.

FORMER LEGISLATOR JOHN (THE U.S. NEEDS A MILITARY COUP) SCHMITZ WAS AN ACTUAL CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT. NO, NO... OF *THIS* COUNTRY!

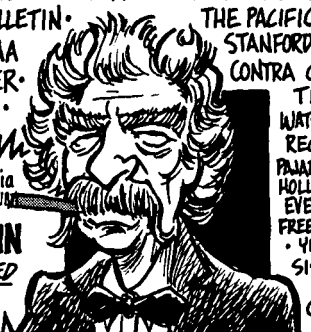
SAN FERNANDO ALSO IN L.A. COUNTY, CALLS ITSELF THE "MISSION CITY." SAN FERNANDO HAS NO MISSION. (Then again, many of us have no mission...)

NEITHER *PANORAMA CITY* NOR *PALM CITY* NOR *HARBOR CITY* NOR *UNIVERSITY CITY* IS A CITY.



THE COIT TOWER IS NOT CONSTRUCTED ...OUT OF COIT AT ALL!

PENINSULA TIMES TRIBUNE • BERKELEY BARB
THE SUTTERTOWN NEWS • EASTBAY TODAY • B.A.M.
PEBBLE BEACH TRIBUNE • DEL NORTE TRIPLICATE
THE POINT REYES LIGHT • ALAMEDA TIMES-STAR
MANTECA BULLETIN • THE PACIFIC SUN
THE PETALUMA ARGUS-COURIER • STANFORD DAILY
GALT HERALD • CONTRA COSTA TIMES • WATSONVILLE REGISTER-PAJARONIAN • HOLLISTER EVENING FREE LANCE • YREKA SISKIYOU NEWS • CAL STATE SACTO DAILY HORNET



Northern California Newspapers MARK TWAIN *NEVER WORKED FOR!!*

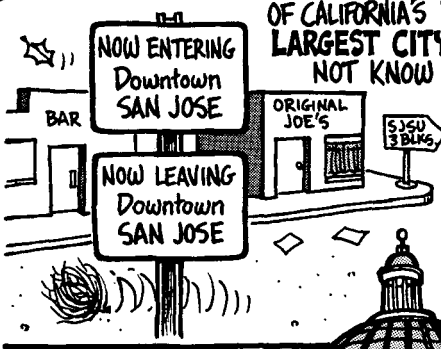
OUT OF 25,000,000 CALIFORNIANS...

875,624	KNOW WE HAVE A STATE SONG.
46,915	KNOW IT *ISN'T* "CALIFORNIA, HERE I COME".
9,378	KNOW IT IS "I LOVE YOU, CALIFORNIA".
123	CAN ACTUALLY *SING* IT.
9	PEOPLE EVEN CARE.

WHY DIDN'T ANY OF THE "49er" GOLD PROSPECTORS GO SEARCHING FOR THE *FATHER* LODE?

ONE OF RANCHO GERALD | THE MAIN MIRAGE FORD | ROADS WE DRIVE

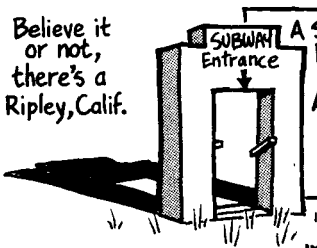
IT IS POSSIBLE TO GO THROUGH THE DOWNTOWN OF CALIFORNIA'S FOURTH LARGEST CITY AND NOT KNOW IT...



AMONG THE AREAS THAT HAVE HAD "CITY MAGAZINES" ARE FRESNO, LONG BEACH, BAKERSFIELD, MONTEREY, PENINSULA (below S.F.), SOUTH BAY (below L.A.), WESTLAKE VILLAGE, SAN JOSE, SANTA BARBARA, SANTA CRUZ and TORRANCE(!?)

ALSO, THE SAN FERNANDO VALLEY ONCE HAD, YA' KNOW, LIKE TWO VALLEY MAGS, LIKE I AM SO SURE, TOTALLY.

Believe it or not, there's a Ripley, Calif.

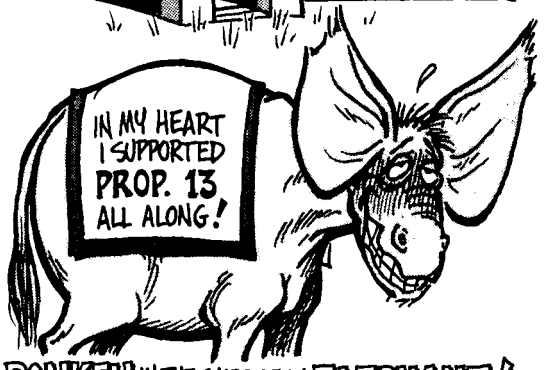


A SUBWAY TERMINAL BUILDING HAS STOOD IN DOWNTOWN LOS ANGELES FOR DECADES EVEN THOUGH L.A. NEVER HAS HAD A REAL SUBWAY!

There actually is a CAL STATE DOMINGUEZ HILLS ...but nobody seems to know why.

CONTRARY TO POPULAR BELIEF, RONALD REAGAN WAS *NOT* THE FIRST ACTOR TO SERVE AS GOVERNOR OF CALIFORNIA!

MOST OF THEM WERE.



DONKEY IN THE SHAPE OF AN ELEPHANT!
(SEEN IN SACRAMENTO SHORTLY AFTER PASSAGE OF THE JARVIS-GANN PROPERTY TAX INITIATIVE.)

(JUST *TRY* TO FIND REDWOODS IN REDWOOD CITY.)

LA JOLLA IS A JEWEL OF A MISSPELLING.

Steven Greenberg is editorial cartoonist for the Daily News *in Los Angeles.*

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MIDWAY CITY Orange County, IS MIDWAY BETWEEN LOMPOC and EL CENTRO! CAMP PENDLETON and U.C.L.A.! SIMI VALLEY and VISTA! INGLEWOOD and SAN JUAN CAPISTRANO! TIJUANA and GRAPEVINE!

AVALON and UPLAND! FILLMORE and ESCONDIDO! MOUNT PALOMAR and POINT MUGU! LEBEC and CHULA VISTA! U.S.C. and DANA POINT! EL TORO and DOMINGUEZ HILLS! ...and isn't even a city!

YOU ARE HERE

IF EVERY MAN, WOMAN, AND CHILD IN **MENDOCINO COUNTY** SUDDENLY AND SIMULTANEOUSLY **GAVE UP FINGERNAIL TRIMMING,**

...it would probably be the only event in the state that Time and Newsweek would bother mentioning.

ANOTHER CALIFORNIA WEIRDO STORY, CHIEF!

SPURRED ON BY GERTRUDE STEIN'S SARCASTIC "THERE'S NO THERE, THERE" COMMENT, **J.M. SMITH** SPENT **36 YEARS SEARCHING OAKLAND** TO PROVE THAT THERE **IS** A "THERE" THERE!

UNFORTUNATELY, HE DIED BEFORE HE TOLD ANYONE WHERE IT WAS.

THE OFFICIAL STATE INSECT IS THE CALIFORNIA DOG-FACED BUTTERFLY.

(ALSO KNOWN AS THE —AHEM— "FLYING PANSY".)

SAN JOSE HAS A PORT.

ALVISO DISTRICT

LOS ANGELES HAS A RIVER.

LOWEST POINT IN CALIFORNIA: DEATH VALLEY, 282 FEET BELOW SEA LEVEL.

HIGHEST POINT: PROBABLY THE L.A. COLISEUM DURING A ROCK CONCERT.

THE **BANK OF AMERICA** USED TO BE THE BANK OF ITALY.

THE GREAT SEAL OF THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA — EUREKA

NEVER MIND THE TEHACHAPIS... FOR THOSE WHO WANT TO SPLIT THE STATE INTO NORTH AND SOUTH, A NEARLY STRAIGHT LINE *ALREADY EXISTS...!*

SAN LUIS OBISPO · KERN · SAN BERNARDINO

WHY DOESN'T ANYBODY EVER NOTICE THE SAN ANDREAS *VIRTUES*?

MOST CALIFORNIA GRIZZLIES *ARE* PROPORTIONATELY LARGER!

LONG BEFORE ***IT HAD*** CARS, ***FACTORIES*** OR ***REFINERIES*** Los Angeles had smog.

IF YOU THINK L.A.'s "SHOESTRING" CONNECTION BETWEEN ITS HARBOR AND THE REST OF THE CITY LOOKS **SILLY**...

MARIPOSA

COUNTY ONCE COMPRISED A QUARTER OF THE STATE!

PEOPLE HAVE BEEN KNOWN TO HAVE SPENT *YEARS* AT THE **HOOVER INSTITUTION** AT STANFORD UNIVERSITY... and not learn a *thing* about vacuum cleaners!

W · E · W · E

IN **LANCASTER**, BOTH EAST-WEST AND NORTH-SOUTH RUNNING STREETS HAVE "EAST" AND "WEST" DESIGNATIONS!

10 · 10 · 10

THE SANTA MONICA FREEWAY IS OFFICIALLY PART OF THE CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS TRANSCONTINENTAL HIGHWAY

...CONSIDER THE LINK BETWEEN DOWNTOWN AND SOUTH **SAN DIEGO** IS AROUND SIX MILES LONG, 1/10th MILE WIDE ... and **UNDERWATER**.

San Ysidro

SUB-MERGING TRAFFIC

18½ MILE GAP AHEAD

There used to be a **RICHARD NIXON FREEWAY** but that name was (expletive) deleted...

Los Angeles

GALA SPRING KISUE & TOKYO PHONE BOOK

SHAPE-UP ISSUE (LIFT IT 10 TIMES!)

ADS, ADS, ADS

SNAP

LIFTING MORE THAN TWO ISSUES AT A TIME OF LOS ANGELES MAGAZINE MAY BE HAZARDOUS TO YOUR HEALTH!

Believe It, why Not... GOVERNOR JERRY BROWN.

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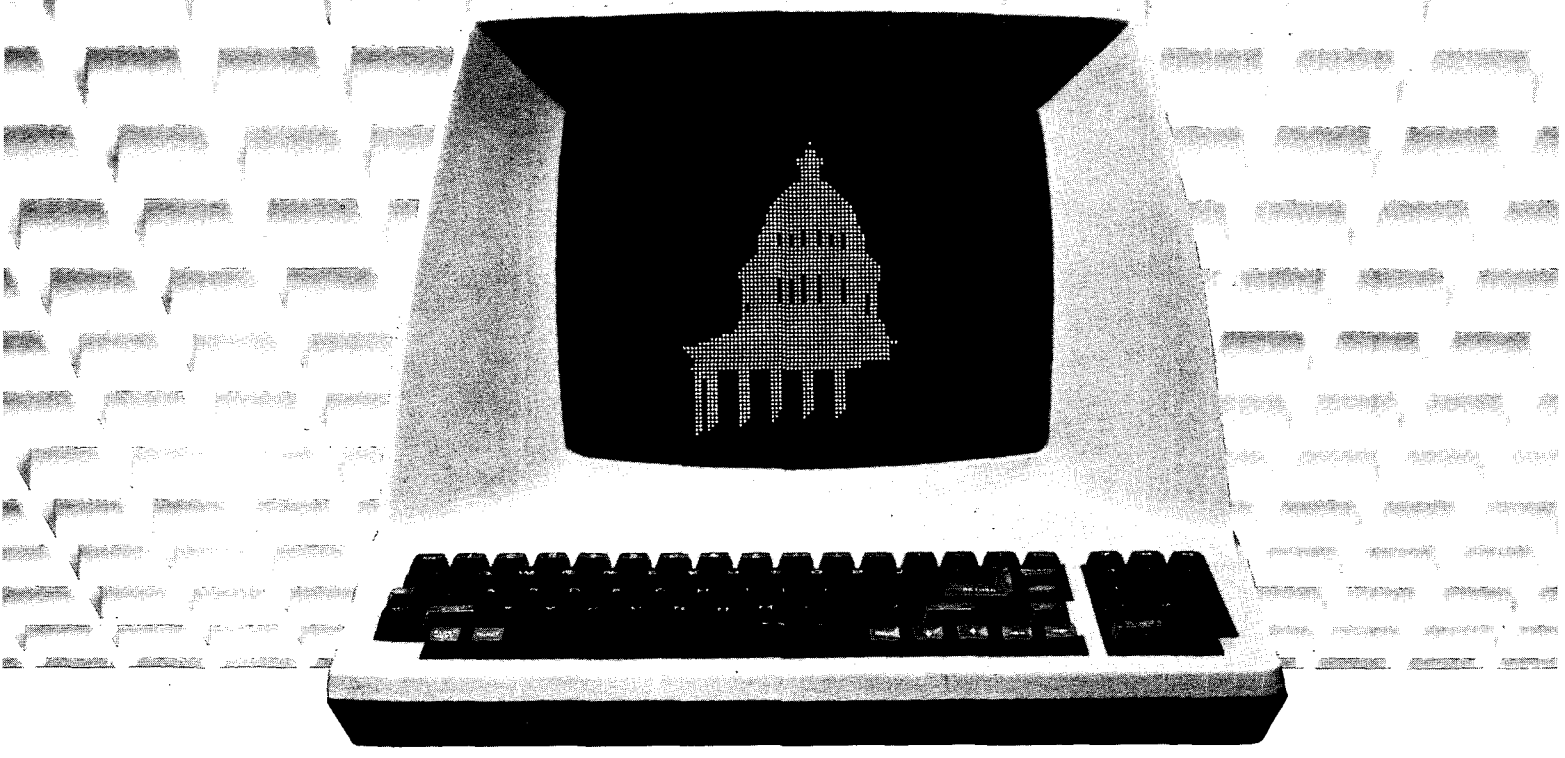
Information is Power



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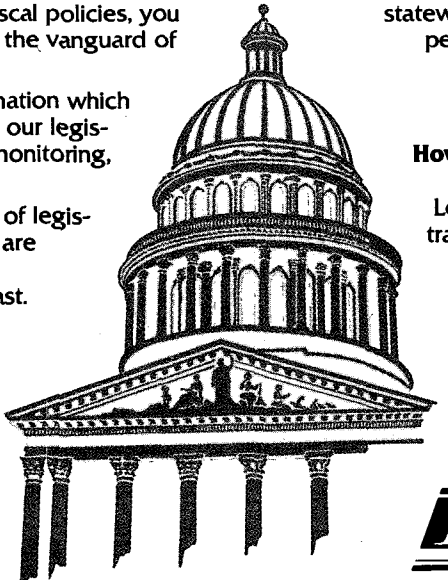

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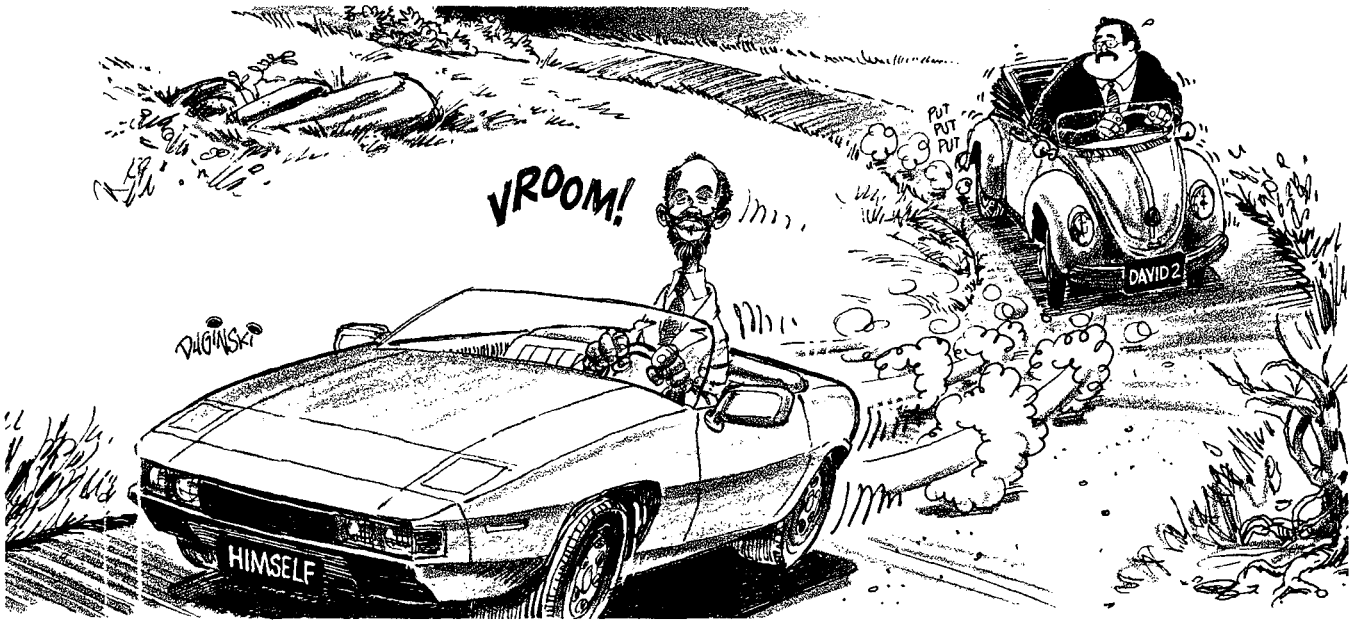
Roberti and company laboring to improve Senate's image



By MARTIN SMITH

In 1980, soon after David Roberti won the post of Senate president pro tem, he was surprised by an interviewer who asked him why he seemed always to walk close to a wall. Roberti replied that he hadn't known that he did. In fact, though, his short, portly figure had long been a familiar and amusing sight as he traversed state Capitol corridors.

Hugging a wall, and wearing a bemused expression, he would stroll along, considering the day's legislative problems. His head would incline even further toward the wall, almost as though he were making an effort to be absorbed into it. His appearance, in brief, was not that of a formidable and dynamic political leader. He looked more as though he were trying to hide.

Roberti doesn't wall-walk anymore. Breaking the habit was one of his first achievements after becoming president pro tem. But another problem seems to have taken its place: He is walking in the shadow of his counterpart in the Assembly, Speaker Willie Brown. Brown the trendy, Brown the witty, Brown the spellbinder. In short, Brown the dazzling sort of political leader that Roberti never was and — barring a mid-life miracle — never will be. Such a trial.

Actually, the problem is not new, nor is it Roberti's alone. Even before there was an Assembly speaker named Brown, state senators were suffering an inferiority complex because of their brethren in the Assembly. The ailment goes back to the 1960s when Jesse Unruh vitalized the lower house by giving it an independent staff. With it, lawmakers could gather information independently of lobbyists and governors, and could develop innovative ideas. Ever since, the Assembly has been perceived by many as the main arena for legislative action, and the Senate has suffered its sense of inferiority.

Thus, Roberti and his colleagues have been working mightily over the past 30 months to give the upper house a new stature and the sort of public image that they think it needs: that of competence, efficiency and a fountain of good ideas. Top staffers have been added. There's a new chief in the office of research. Roberti himself has two public relations specialists — one for newspapers, the other for television. Clearly, something new has been created, but it may not be exactly what the senators had in mind.

To the extent that Californians outside the Capital City pay close attention to what's happening at the seat of state government, Democrat Roberti and his party colleagues have emerged as heavy-handed and inept bullies, trying to block the earnest efforts of the new governor, George Deukmejian, to set his policies in place. They are perceived as fighting him at nearly every turn and denying him not only one of his important appointees (Carol Hallett as director of the Parks and Recreation Department) but the very home in which he wished to live (the new governor's mansion). Although that last decision has been rescinded, the Senate's overall reputation remains.

The smartest thing

Meanwhile, Speaker Brown sails on, invariably perceived as master of the situation. His policy of cooperation with Deukmejian is said to be the smartest thing that Democratic legislators can do right now. Lacking the two-thirds majority needed to enact Democratic programs over an assured gubernatorial veto, they have decided to let the

Martin Smith is the political editor for McClatchy Newspapers.

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new governor have his way. It's what the public seems to want, and if anything goes wrong, he's at fault. One respected Capitol observer notes that Brown and the Democrats are doing what Democratic congressional leaders Lyndon Johnson and Sam Rayburn did during Dwight Eisenhower's Republican presidency in the 1950s. After showing consistent responsibility while in opposition, Democrats found it easier to regain the White House in 1960.

While these perceptions are not wrong, neither are they complete. For instance, Brown did not greet Deukmejian's election with all of the smarts he is given credit for now. Looking at the state's $1.5 billion budget deficit then, Brown ridiculed Deukmejian's pledge not to increase taxes and said he would force Republicans to carry a tax increase

bill. Simultaneously, he promoted a Democratic effort in the lower house to weaken the governor's appointive powers. He backed off only after his actions began to bring down a torrent of criticism.

Also, Brown looks good in part because of splits between the governor and the bloc of conservative Republicans in the Assembly. As the GOP bloc fought the governor over his budget balancing and tax loophole-closing plans, Brown was able to step between, looking like the sensible solver of problems.

Then, too, Brown had better cooperate with the governor lest the governor start cooperating with Paul Gann, the Proposition 13 co-author whose latest effort would severely trim Brown's authority. Gann is promoting an initiative that would force the Legislature to reduce spending on itself and would spread legislative power more widely in each house. Because power is much more concentrated in the Assembly speakership than it is in the office of Senate president pro tem, Brown has much more to lose.

To date, Deukmejian has been neutral on the Gann initiative. He has not discouraged — as he could — Brown's efforts to recruit prominent Republicans against the measure. For instance, former Republican Assembly Speaker Robert Monagan, who is now president of the California Manufacturers Association, is heading the campaign against Gann. Other such figures also are expected to join the opposition.

None of this is to deny that Brown and his Democratic colleagues in the Assembly are skilled political tacticians. The point is that the brilliance they display has been forced upon them to some extent by events.

So what about the Senate Democrats and their show, under Roberti, of seeming to act out of no better motive than malicious obstructionism? The answer is that there may be some malice there. After all, Deukmejian was never an insider when he served in the upper house, and there may be some resentment at having to accept his leadership. What prophet has ever been honored at home? But clearly, there is more to the situation than that.

Tony Quinn, an Assembly Republican consultant and one of the more respected political critics around, says the Senate is responding to a stronger ideological motivation than the Assembly. "Roberti, clearly more than Willie Brown, is maintaining the liberal flame. There are virtually no real liberals left in the Assembly," he says.

Roberti himself explains the Senate's confrontations with Deukmejian a little differently. He doesn't see Senate Democrats as inherently more liberal today than their Assembly counterparts but notes that they are generally older and have been around Sacramento longer. "They have an emotional attachment to many of the programs that have been developed and that Deukmejian wants to cut," he says. "There may be more liberal members of the Assembly, but they're younger and don't have the attachment to these programs that the veterans do."

Concerning himself, Roberti suggests that he's constrained by the veterans' view. "I really might be far more accommodating, but there's only so far I can go," he explains.

For instance, in the dispute over the mansion, Roberti and a number of other Senate Democrats were as willing as Willie Brown to let the governor move into the gubernatorial residence built in Ronald Reagan's time but refused by Jerry Brown. Senate veteran Alfred Alquist of San Jose was opposed, however, arguing among other things that the official residence should be more accessible to the people and not set apart on a palatial estate far from the seat of government. (The mansion is situated on an 11-acre site in Carmichael, a Sacramento suburb.)

"I had to defer to Alquist," says Roberti now. "Alquist is rather important to me in the running of the house. I couldn't run it without him." However, Roberti's deference to the veterans (or anyone else) is not unchangeable. When newspaper editorial writers and others began firing on the Senate for denying the governor a home, the pro tem won a reversal in the Senate position.

A competent leader

In any case, the Senate's battles with the governor have not been for naught. At the outset of his administration, the Senate forced him to accept a mechanism for triggering a sales tax increase if the 1983-84 budget appears to be heading into the red. As a result, there is less chance that state government will follow the New York City road toward bankruptcy by rolling over deficits into subsequent budget years.

For the rest, Roberti has proved himself a competent leader within his house. Senate Democrats seem to be working well together on major issues such as housing and crime. And Roberti has clearly delivered on the promise that got him elected pro tem in the first place: to preserve and enlarge, if possible, the Senate's Democratic majority. In the 1982 elections, Senate Democrats picked up two seats while Brown's Assembly Democrats lost one.

But still the perceptions remain: Roberti the bad guy; Brown the good. In the ultimate test of his political skills, Roberti was asked what he thinks of Willie Brown. "We're friends," he replied, "I like Willie Brown."

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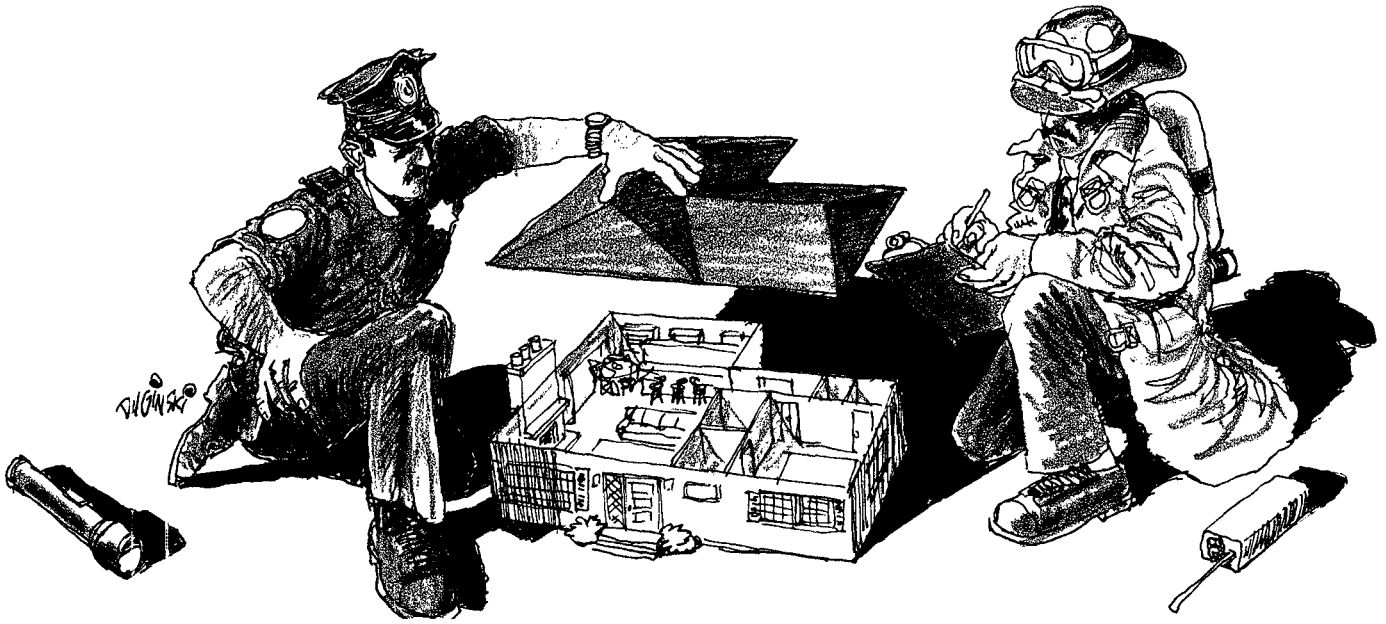
Why some cities are getting into the home insurance business



By ROBERT FAIRBANKS

Back in the real old days, when the City of London was made largely of wood, the men who fought fires there had one of the world's great motives for doing their jobs well — greed. For in 17th century England, the companies that fought fires often sold fire insurance as well. Thus, the more damage they could prevent, the more money they made.

Today, of course, there is no such connection between firefighters and fire insurance companies. Firefighting is done mostly by city governments, fire insurance is sold by private corporations, and never the twain shall meet. But why not? Why not inject a little greed not only into the firefighting business but into police work as well by giving city government a financial reward for holding fire and theft damages down? The result could be improved public safety, reduced taxpayer cost and a whole new way of looking at city government's role.

And so it is that a handful of small cities around the state are beginning to experiment with a new means of providing fire and theft insurance to homeowners in their areas, one which promises profits to the city for reducing loss. The idea originated more than a decade ago with several city officials who contended that homeowners in their areas were being overcharged for insurance protection.

However, it is being pushed now primarily by a pair of insurance companies that want a bigger share of the home insurance business and expect to get it by backing this relatively new idea. The firms are the AVCO Financial Insurance Group of Newport Beach, a subsidiary of the AVCO Corporation, and the New Hampshire Insurance Group, a subsidiary of the American International Group. Their project is called "CHIP" for "Cooperative Home Insurance Program."

But other insurance firms are watching closely, and if CHIP works as planned, AVCO/New Hampshire won't have the market to themselves for long. Cities everywhere will want the benefits, and the other firms will move in with programs of their own.

Meanwhile, though, it's an AVCO/New Hampshire show. And, as in show business, the critics are out in force. By and large, they contend that the two companies want only to help themselves and have no interest in the cities involved. One called the CHIP plan "suede shoe-ish" and predicted that the promised profits to cities will never materialize.

Inspections first

To understand how all this is supposed to work, you begin with a home inspection program. Many cities offer such programs, which generally involve sending out an inspector — at the resident's request — to check the home for overall security and absence of hazards. Under CHIP, things go a step further: Homeowners who pass the inspection will be offered a homeowner's insurance policy much like those sold now by the giants of the homeowners' insurance business: Allstate, Farmers and State Farm. However, this would be a CHIP policy and it would be formally sponsored by the city. In return for its sponsorship, the city would keep whatever underwriting profits were produced by the program. Thus, the city could make money by holding losses down.

For instance, if 100 homeowners in a city buy a city-sponsored CHIP insurance policy for $300 each, the total revenue is $30,000. If administrative costs for the program are $10,000, and if the homeowners suffer losses of $15,000,

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then the program costs are $25,000 and the city makes $5,000 that year. If losses had been less, the city would have made more.

But how does AVCO/New Hampshire make money by giving up their underwriting profit? The answer is in part that the two firms and their agents take a 27.5 percent cut from the top ($82.50 on a $300 policy) to cover the cost of selling the policies and handling claims. Also, AVCO/New Hampshire keep the investment income; that is, the money earned by investing the homeowners' premium payments in some other enterprise before any payouts must be made.

It is at this point that critics question the CHIP plan. Essentially, they contend that if the CHIP policies are to be priced competitively (and CHIP officials say they will be) then after AVCO/New Hampshire take their share of each premium dollar, and after another 6 percent to 8 percent is taken for taxes and incidentals, there won't be enough money left to cover losses and provide a profit to the city.

W. Victor Slevin, western region vice president for the American Insurance Association, says his organization is neutral on the CHIP plan. However, he says that prices for homeowners' insurance are so competitive today that few companies make money from the insurance sales themselves. In other words, there is no underwriting profit for the cities to receive. The profit in the business, he says, comes from investment income. However, under the CHIP plan, AVCO/New Hampshire take that money for themselves. If Slevin is correct, then cities would get little or nothing from the program. CHIP, on the other hand, would be sitting pretty in the local insurance market because its policies, unlike those of its competitors, would be sponsored by the city government.

A new factor

Not surprisingly, things are seen differently by the CHIP people, one of whom is William Hanna, executive vice president of Cooperative Insurance Marketing Associates of Chino, an agency formed by AVCO to market the program. According to Hanna, the home safety inspections set the new program apart from the rest of the home insurance business, making normal cost and profit projections invalid.

Currently, he says, insurance company rates make little or no allowance for what the homeowner may be doing to protect himself. Rates are set, he says, according to the type of home construction, the local water supply, the quality of the fire department and other such factors. The new program would consider all that and would add the safety condition of the home itself. Homeowners who passed the city inspection would be in; those who failed would be out. Thus, he continues, losses under the new program will be 20 to 30 percent lower than those suffered by other companies. Since the new policies will cost about as much as the others (perhaps slightly less, Hanna says) the result will be a sizeable profit for the cities. The only requirement, he says, is that each city runs a quality inspection program.

Expectations are that firemen will make the inspections during times when they are not actually fighting fires. However, police may be involved also, if only to train firemen in checking a home's security against burglary or theft. In any case, the inspections should be rigorous. According to one model list, they could include 47 separate checks in each home. (See box.)

Why would homeowners subject themselves to such detailed examinations? Presumably, the most important reason is that they don't want to be burned or burgled. But there could be price advantages as well, for if losses decline as steeply as Hanna predicts, then the city could share its profits with homeowners by leaving enough profit in the program to reduce homeowner rates. Also, homeowners will know that profits from the program, whatever they may be, will go to their city government, thus benefitting them as taxpayers.

Which cities are involved? According to Hanna, four cities will be formal sponsors of CHIP policies by the end of this month: Berkeley, Duarte, Seal Beach and Mill Valley. (Officials in Berkeley said Hanna was ahead of himself and said city council action was not expected until September.)

Hanna says another city, Hayward, will not be a formal sponsor, but the city administration will tell homeowners that the program is available. However, it, too, will receive

Passing inspection

Here is a partial checklist for a home safety and security inspection, as suggested for use with a city-sponsored home insurance program:

Fire Safety

- Major appliances are grounded.
- Furnace/air conditioner filter appears to be clean.
- Kitchen hood vent appears to be clean.
- Coal and wood burning appliances or structures appear to be properly used, installed and maintained.
- Portable heating devices appear to be used and stored properly.
- No apparent exposed wiring except as permitted by local code.
- Combustibles are clear of stove and other cooking areas and forced air vents.
- Fireplace appears to be properly maintained.
- Solid core door with self-closure between garage and residence. If not present, advantages discussed with resident.
- Open space between detached garage and residence clear of fire hazard materials.

Security

- House number is clearly visible from street and/or alley.
- Approved deadbolts on all exterior doors.
- Non-removable outside door hinge pins.
- All sliding glass doors/windows on first floor have working primary and secondary locking devices.
- Garage door secured by automatic door opener or bolt with locking device.
- Valuable and major items have been identified and serial numbers stored in a safe place.
- Second means of escape provided from bedrooms to a safe area.
- Windows and screens allow for escape from dwelling.
- Family has and practices escape plan.
- Members of family have received information in cardiopulmonary resuscitation.
- Dog(s) appear to be restricted to premises. Warning signs are used.
- Railings on stairs are properly maintained.

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whatever underwriting profits result from the program. Two other cities — Oxnard and San Clemente — will conduct inspections but will say nothing formally about CHIP. They will receive half the underwriting profits from their areas, Hanna says.

Agent opposition

Hanna says cities have chosen different levels of involvement with CHIP because of opposition to it from non-participating insurance agents. If the opposition is intense, the city council may wish to avoid formal sponsorship, a step that requires action at a public meeting. Instead, the council may order that residents simply be informed of the program, perhaps with a letter from the city manager, or the council may say nothing at all. In all cases, though, the city must be willing to continue its home inspection service.

However, Hanna continues, insurance agent opposition is considerably less now than it was at the beginning of last year when AVCO alone launched a test run of the program with the Marin County city of Mill Valley, just north of San Francisco. At that time, the program was called "Municipal Homeowners Insurance" (MHI) and AVCO intended to sell many, if not all, of its policies through a telephone service center set up by itself. When interested homeowners called in, AVCO was to schedule home inspections for them and then — based on results — either sell or deny them policies. Although local agents could sell policies, the program was not designed for them and their opposition was intense. Given the fact that there are about 9,000 insurance agents in California, and that many of them have friends on city councils, AVCO decided to scrap the MHI plan.

As a result, the program has a new name (CHIP), AVCO has been joined by New Hampshire and neither firm sells policies itself. Instead, CHIP markets its policies as do many big insurance firms, choosing independent insurance agents in each city to handle its sales. As is customary in the insurance business, other agents may sell CHIP policies too, but must share the 12.5 percent commission with the CHIP-chosen agent for that territory. Changing the program to include independent agents added about 5 percent to the cost of a CHIP policy, but the reduction in political heat made the change worthwhile, Hanna says.

However, although opposition from independent agents may be declining, as Hanna says, opposition from the so-called "direct writers" remains intense. These are agents who are employed by the big firms that dominate the homeowner insurance business — Allstate, Farmers and State Farm — and who write policies for their employers only. DeWitt Barker, a division manager for State Farm, says that his company has produced literature against the CHIP program, distributed it to its local agents and urged them to become involved against CHIP "at whatever level they feel comfortable with."

Barker, whose office is in the Sonoma County community of Rohnert Park, contends that if home safety inspections actually produced cost benefits, then other firms already would be using them. "Insurance is one of the most intensely competitive businesses around," he says, echoing Slevin. As a result, Barker adds, if a city sponsors CHIP in its area, it is in effect granting a subsidy to the two sponsoring firms without being guaranteed that it will receive anything in return.

Robert Walker is State Farm's local agent in Mill Valley, where AVCO and the city council launched the test run early last year. "I was incensed when it began," he says. "Now, I'm sort of ho-hum." The reason for Walker's unconcern is that AVCO managed to sell only about 40 of the new policies in Mill Valley during the first year. Walker, who says he handles about 6 to 10 percent of the local market, says that the AVCO rates were about the same as his and that he lost only one customer to AVCO last year.

Both Hanna and Assistant City Manager David Van Kirk were disappointed by the small number of sales but predict that volume will increase under the new CHIP arrangement. Last year, they explain, AVCO limited maximum coverage to $250,000 per home, which was simply too low for affluent Mill Valley. Also, they contend, AVCO didn't spend enough money to promote the program. Both problems, they say, have been corrected in the CHIP plan. In any case, adds Hanna, no one ever said the whole business wouldn't take time.

Some critics contend that CHIP is simply a new form of "skimming," the old practice of trying to take the cream of the business for one's self and leaving the remainder for others. As a result, other firms are left to cover the non-participating or non-qualifying homeowners, all of whom would be forced to pay much higher rates than they are paying now. Not true, says Hanna. The CHIP program will generate widespread interest in fire and theft prevention, thereby upgrading the quality of customers for the insurance industry as a whole.

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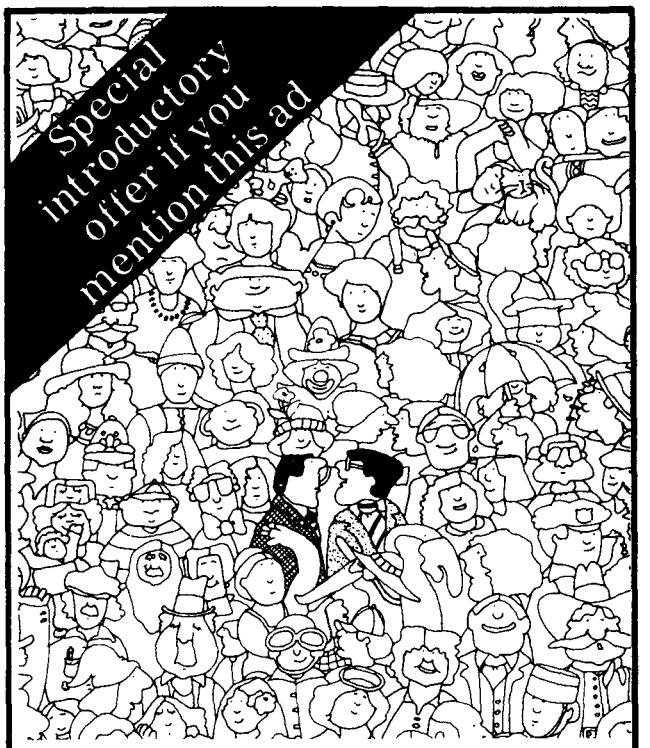

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SEARCHING FOR A SOLUTION TO THE DELTA'S COSTLY PROBLEMS

By DAN MEYERS

Last January 27th, as Californians slogged through what was to become a record wet winter, a section of the levee around Mildred Island gave way and water from the Sacramento-San Joaquin Delta poured through, covering the farmland to a depth of 10 feet.

Normally, the dredges would have been called in, the levee would have been rebuilt, the land would have been drained and farming would have resumed. But nothing is normal these days in this vast, mid-California region of levees, waterways, marshes and farms. As a result, Mildred Island remains under water, and the situation affects everyone in the state.

For the Delta is more than a collection of well-protected asparagus fields. At the confluence of the Sacramento and San Joaquin rivers, it is also an inland reservoir into which Northern California pours its vast flow of surplus water and from which Southern California (including the San Joaquin Valley) fills much of its water needs.

Generally speaking, Northern California's fresh water flows into the Delta from the north and east, holding back the salt water that would otherwise flow in from San Francisco Bay to the west. Thus, there is fresh water at Tracy, the site of the Southern California pumps. But the levees are a crucial element in the process. By channelizing the flow of fresh water across what was once a vast swamp, they build a head on the fresh-water flow, giving it force to hold back the salt. Also, because the water is held in channels rather than spread over the land, evaporation losses are relatively low and the fresh-water flow is retained. In short, without the levees, Southern Californians might find themselves pumping brine.

In the past, there was no question that the Delta levees would be maintained, though not because of the Southern California pumps. They were there to reclaim farmland, a sacrosanct national goal. But goals change, often according to the economics of the times. And the economics of Mildred Island tell the tale.

According to the state Department of Water Resources, closing the break and restoring the Mildred Island levee would cost $4.1 million. Pumping off the water and preparing the land for agricultural use might double the sum. Plus, to inject more than $8 million dollars will not guarantee that Mildred won't be flooded again in the near future. Since the island itself has a value of only about $2 million, its 783 acres remain submerged.

This is not to say that the Delta situation is out of hand. There are about 60 islands in the 700,000-acre region and several have been abandoned to water over the years. The biggest of these, Franks Tract, was flooded in 1938. But the cost figures that keep Mildred submerged are new and would apply to many other Delta islands as well. And, to make matters worse, the productivity of all Delta land is going down.

A muddy cornucopia

Things were not always so grim. In 1772, when explorer Captain Pedro Fages skirted Mt. Diablo and gazed east toward the vast swamp, he recorded seeing a "sea of reeds." But among the gold miners and adventurers who came later were those who saw more. Often using the same Chinese laborers who had helped build the first transcontinental railroads, they transformed the Delta into a muddy cornucopia.

(And it was muddy. Unable to use a wheeled tractor, Benjamin Holt propelled his vehicle with flexible steel belts, creating what was to become the caterpillar tractor.)

By 1930, 1,100 miles of levee had been built, creating a new system of waterways on the floor of this old shallow sea. The soil was a rich, peaty mixture of decayed plants, ideal for agriculture.

But peat decomposes, shrinks, compacts and eventually blows away. Consequently, land levels have been dropping behind the levees, sometimes at the rate of three inches a year. As the land erodes and the farms sink, more levee

Dan Meyers is a capital correspondent for the San Jose Mercury News.

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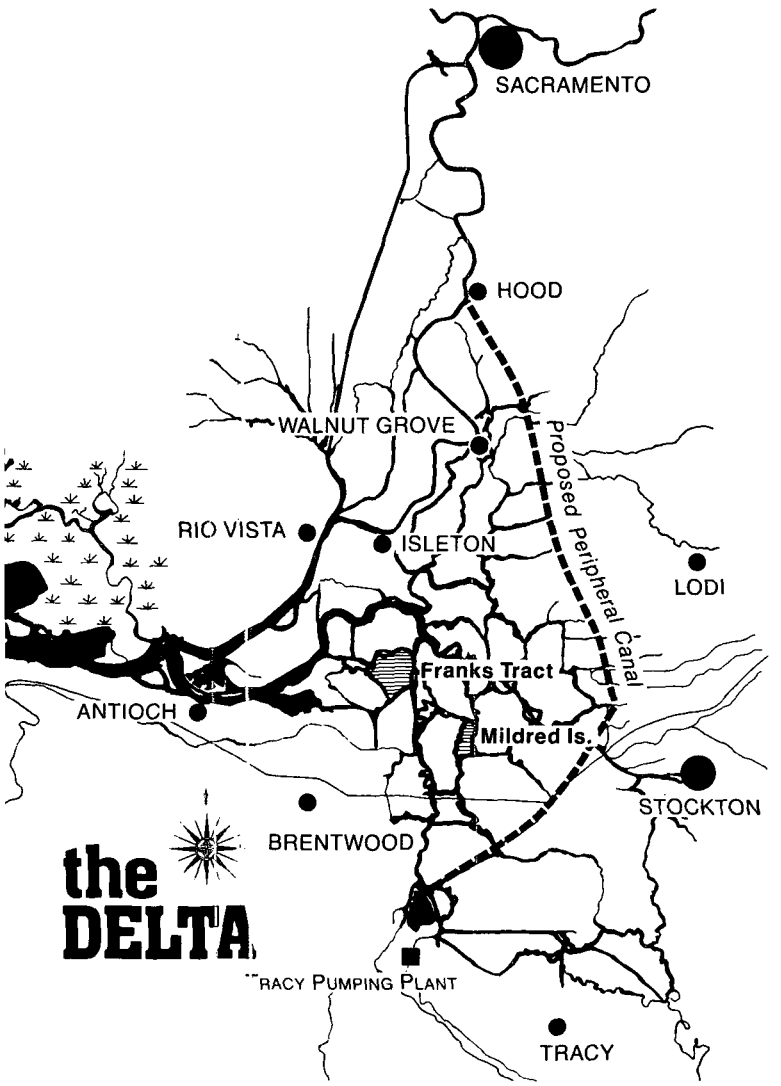
backsides lie unprotected, increasing the pressure of water against the dikes. When the levees break, as they have over 100 times since 1930, the land is scoured even more severely because it lies so low.

Meanwhile, the costs of levee repairs are immense and promise to grow. According to state figures and estimates from affected counties, the cost of Delta flooding in the last 12 months alone will probably top $20 million. The Army Corps of Engineers surveyed the levees last year and predicted annual repair costs starting at $46 million, and rising over the years. The state Department of Water Resources says a massive levee repair project would cost about $3.3 billion over the next 50 years.

But where is that kind of money to come from? Currently, levee repairs are financed primarily — 75 percent — by the state and federal governments, neither of which has made provision for that kind of cost. The remaining 25 percent of levee repair money comes from the reclamation districts formed by Delta landowners. But they contend they can pay no more. "There's no way you can support the Delta (levees) agriculturally," says farmer Tim Leathers of Bouldin Island.

So where does this leave Southern California and its need for salt-free water? The Legislature's initial answer was the Peripheral Canal, the 43-mile project that would have skirted the eastern Delta to carry fresh water directly from the Sacramento River to the Tracy pumps. But for more reasons than can be recounted here, voters rejected the enabling legislation a year ago.



(To this day, some at the Capitol contend that canal supporters made a mistake by promoting the project and its associated works primarily as a means of producing more water for the South. It might have aroused less northern opposition if the canal had been promoted for its most important function: preserving water quality.)

A lack of consensus

At the moment, there is no consensus about what to do next. Several plans involve just enough dredging and levee improvements to assure fresh water flows at the Tracy pumps. But the initial costs would be substantial, maintenance costs would be high and loud protests would arise from those who got no protection at all. The Army Corps of Engineers has talked of an underwater rock barrier to reduce salt water intrusion. (Being heavier than fresh, salt water flows on the bottom.) But the barrier, which would be placed on the western edge of the Delta in the Carquinez Strait, is said to be a threat to the delta's fisheries.

"The real question for the state of California is what should the Delta look like," says Assemblyman Phil Isenberg of Sacramento whose Capitol bookcase contains an entire shelf of Delta studies. "The problem is that everybody's locked themselves into so many hardline positions that it's almost impossible to have a rational discussion in this building."

The governor's office is also proceeding slowly. Having observed former Governor Jerry Brown's inability to obtain a Delta plan, Governor Deukmejian is hoping a legislative consensus will form for some type of water policy. Meanwhile, he has delayed naming a water resources director. As of mid-June, there was no one in that sensitive, $54,556-a-year job.

At a news conference June 7, the governor explained: "It was my hope that I would be able to find an individual . . . who would have the best chance of bringing together the many competing interests that are involved in the whole water issue . . . to come forward with a fair, workable water plan. Up to this point, I have not been able to find such an individual."

Rod Blonien, the governor's legislative liaison, adds: "It's the most complicated and difficult issue facing us, perhaps more difficult than the budget. We do not have a plan at this point."

"It's time to cut bait or start fishing, time to say 'yes, we're going to save the Delta' or 'no, we're not.'" says Don Neudeck, state flood control chief. "We're just band-aiding it right now, and it's getting expensive."

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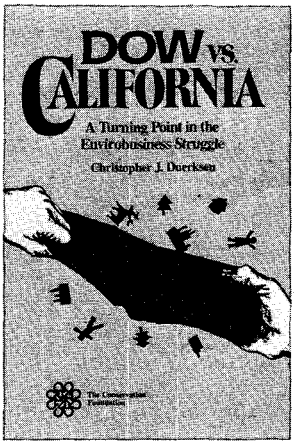
A BALANCED REVIEW OF A COMPLEX CONTROVERSY

Lessons learned from the Dow battle

By DOUG WILLIS



Nearly 6½ years after Dow Chemical abandoned plans for a $5 million petrochemical manufacturing complex on the Sacramento River, the Dow plant and the manner in which California lost it are still controversial. Even today, former Governor Jerry Brown is described as either the villain who lost 1,000 Dow jobs for California because of the delays and over-regulation of his administration, or a hero who saved the Sacramento-San Joaquin Delta from the clutches of an industrial polluter.

For example, earlier this year Governor George Deukmejian cited the Dow case to illustrate how California had lost jobs because of "unreasonable" environmental regulations, and Deukmejian promised that he was changing the "anti-business attitude" of his predecessor. But both views of the dispute were exaggerations with more myth and rhetoric than reality.

Possibly the best account of the Dow controversy and its long-range effects is Christopher J. Duerksen's *Dow vs. California — A Turning Point in the Envirobusiness Struggle* (The Conservation Foundation, 1717 Massachusetts Avenue NW, Washington, D.C. 20036, $10 plus $2 handling).

The intimidating title, and the fact that the author is an attorney who studied the Dow controversy for the Conservation Foundation, raise fears of a turgid, anti-Dow diatribe. But instead, Duerksen has produced a 150-page, balanced, restrained, brightly written account which explores the Dow controversy in depth and puts it in a broader context.

In a readable but unemotional style, Duerksen traces the economic and political origins of the Dow proposal, describes the proposed site, and tells how opposition slowly grew from a handful of uncoordinated foes to a massive protest. Duerksen explains how Dow and local officials who were anxious to attract new industry created many of their later problems and fanned opposition by rushing the proposal with unseemly haste in its early stages.

As the momentum shifts against a project that once appeared to be a sure thing, Duerksen describes the increasing frustration of Dow officials and the misunderstandings of motives and priorities on all sides; concluding finally with a thoughtful chapter titled "The Lessons of Dow."

Doug Willis is chief of the Associated Press bureau in Sacramento.

Lasting misconceptions

Today the massive Dow proposal is a dead issue. But Dow's 2½-year attempt to win permission to build a complex of 13 chemical plants along the Sacramento River is still important to Californians both because of what government and business leaders learned from the Dow case, and because of the effect of the lasting misconceptions about Dow.

One important result of the Dow case has been greater recognition on the part of public officials of the need to streamline the permit process and to move toward the "one-stop" hearing and permit process. Dow's case, requiring 65 separate permits from 11 different federal, state, regional and local agencies, was a horror story of how jurisdictional jealousies and overlapping authorities can create an almost impenetrable regulatory maze that can thwart any major industrial project, regardless of its merits.

There has been more of a change of attitude than a change of specific laws, although at least one measure that encourages consolidated permits hearings is a direct result of the Dow case. The air pollution standards of 1977, which Dow insisted were impossible to comply with, also were modified after the Dow pullout, and today read more like the alternative standards Dow had urged.

Jerry Brown, who suffered much of the political backlash from the Dow incident, stopped quoting *Small Is Beautiful* soon after the Dow decision, and started sporting "California Means Business" buttons, which to his political chagrin were manufactured in New Jersey. The Dow case also profoundly affected environmentalists in California who won that specific battle. But that victory sparked a backlash which they are still fighting to overcome. Ironically, much of that backlash, and the major changes in attitudes and the lesser changes in law that followed, were based on the myths of the Dow controversy, not the facts.

A catalog of myths

Like most myths, there is a basis of fact, but there is more fiction than fact in some of the Dow myths. For example:

- **The emotional stories** of Brown's role are among the most persistent Dow myths. The fact is, Brown didn't do as much as he could have to speed the process along. But what little he did do probably helped, rather than hurt, Dow's prospects.
- **The real heavies** from Dow's perspective were not the Democratic governor, but the Bay Area Air Pollution Control District, over which Brown had no con-

Continued on page 272

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Ann Reynolds: a new chancellor takes over at CSU

By WILLIAM GRANT

In many of the speeches she has given during the past year, W. Ann Reynolds has described her first view of California after an exhausting drive from Ohio to take her new job as chancellor of the California State University.

A thunderstorm was just clearing as her car topped 4,700 feet on Interstate 15 at the California-Nevada line, and she looked down into a valley through the arc of a brilliant rainbow. "How prophetic, I thought," the line in her speech goes. And like that other Kansas girl, Dorothy, Ann Reynolds found herself "with a mental image of the Emerald City being straight ahead."

But, of course, it wasn't Emerald City she found. At the end of her long drive lay California State University, the nation's largest college system. And there is no wizard there to tell her what to do.

But when chosen last June to succeed the retiring Glenn S. Dumke, Reynolds spoke confidently of her ability to manage California's 19-campus state college system, with its 316,000 students and 18,500-member faculty. She expressed that confidence clearly when questioned by the CSU board of trustees about her inexperience in dealing with such non-academic subjects as collective bargaining and legislative lobbying. "The notion you can do a job only if you've done it before just doesn't make any sense," she said.

Slender and soft-spoken, with just a touch of grey in her hair, Reynolds at 45 has nothing in her manner to indicate a hard-charging academician who only five years ago was an acting associate dean at the University of Illinois School of Medicine. Today she is the top-ranked woman in American higher education. Yet despite her rapid rise, Reynolds is cautious by nature. Part of that caution may be the result of some naive misstatements made soon after she took on her new job.

William Grant is a reporter for the San Francisco Chronicle.

For instance, she seemed to believe that financial problems just then capturing the attention of California educators would be easy to handle, compared to the prolonged budget crisis afflicting higher education in the Midwest. She remarked at the time, "California does not know what real budget difficulty is."

Her views may not have changed, but Reynolds — after experiences

with her own serious budget problems — isn't saying that anymore. Although she acknowledges her most important task is to convince California policy makers of the value of higher education, the new chancellor has taken a back seat in the drive for more funding. While retiring University of California President David Saxon was serving as point man in calling for a tax increase to support colleges and universities, Reynolds limited herself to cautious criticism of Governor George Deukmejian's proposed student fee increases and vague assertions that her system needs more money. How the money is raised, she insists, is someone else's problem.

Staying clear

Funding for the CSU system is not the only area where the chancellor has stayed clear of public debate. She's also expressed an intention not to become involved in the ongoing controversy over the role her system plays in California's higher education scheme. While many CSU campus presidents clamor for immediate authority to offer a full range of doctoral and legal programs, and thereby increase the system's prestige to that of the University of California, Reynolds counsels patience. Prestige will follow as more and more CSU graduates move into positions of power around the state, she says. To enforce her argument, she points to the California Legislature, where one-third of the current members are CSU alumni.

In comparing CSU and UC, Reynolds is troubled mainly by the way the two budgets are handled — and that led her to take on a fight she could not win. She wanted the same kind of autonomy over her budget as enjoyed by UC Regents, who have virtual control over how to spend money appropriated by the Legislature. The CSU budget is a series of line-item appropriations over which her trustees have limited control. So this year, Reynolds led a fight in Sacramento to loosen the purse strings — and learned that the Legislature is reluctant to give up its power of the purse, even if one-third of them are CSU graduates.

Another lesson Reynolds learned since coming to California involves a conflict that goes to the very core of the CSU system: the relationship between her board and campus presidents. Following her selection, Reynolds said that centralization of authority "was one reason I was interested in the job" and praised it as a policy that "has enabled growth in a system that is unequaled in the United States."

But after learning first-hand how much centralization was resented within the CSU system, Reynolds began portraying herself as an advocate of campus autonomy. To emphasize her conversion, she points to a decision which gave each of the 19 presidents authority to decide how to meet the governor's budget cuts. Recently, actions by one of those presidents, Sonoma State's Peter Diamondopolous, came under investigation by the CSU board of trustees after allegations surfaced that Diamondopolous vio-

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CSU trustees eye UC board

The efforts of the California State University to change its image as the little brother in the state's higher education system has not been helped by the fact that some members of CSU's own board of trustees would rather be Regents of the University of California. In 1982, San Francisco attorney Jeremiah F. Hallisey was the latest of several trustees who switched to the UC board when offered the chance. And colleagues say Roy T. Brophy, a Folsom developer, who in March was named to a second term as a CSU trustee (he served from 1972 to 1979 as a Reagan appointee) has told them he was promised a Regent's seat but agreed to serve as a trustee until a spot on the UC board becomes available. Asked to confirm the report, Brophy says he does not expect to be a UC Regent in the near future. It isn't because he wouldn't like to be, however. The next two terms to expire are held by old Reaganites, and Brophy expects Governor Deukmejian to re-appoint them.

lated principles of academic freedom and played favorites last year in laying off tenured faculty members.

Regardless of what happens to Diamondopolous, however, Reynolds' shift on centralization has demonstrated that the new chancellor has the kind of flexibility required to manage her diverse system, a flexibility that has already helped bridge the gap between her Long Beach headquarters and the faculty and overcome initial hostility to her appointment by the systemwide Academic Senate.

Born Wynetka Ann King in Coffeyville, Kansas, Reynolds has spent her entire life in an academic environment. Her father, a Ph.D. in rural education, taught on Indian reservations in the Southwest and later served as president of State Teachers College in Emporia, Kansas, where Reynolds received a degree in chemistry and biology in 1958. No lover of scientific field work, she specialized in research, earning a Ph.D. in biology from the University of Iowa and later teaching at Ball State University and the University of Illinois School of Medicine.

She shifted to administration in 1977, becoming the medical school's acting associate dean for academic affairs. Reynolds rose rapidly after that and was the graduate dean and associate vice chancellor for research at the medical school before leaving in 1979 to become provost at Ohio State.

She says she has been "the first woman in every job" she has ever held. Reynolds was the only woman — and the youngest — of the four finalists for the chancellor's job, but she does not think being female was any help. "I don't think it helped at all. Quite the contrary. And I don't think the evidence across the country supports an argument that women have gotten positions because they are women."

Her mood cools quickly when she is asked personal questions. "I am not a celebrity," she told one interviewer. And the chill deepens when the questions are the type usually asked of wives, not executives. Asked how she will handle her long-distance marriage to Dr. Thomas Kirschbaum, whom she married in April, she snaps, "Would you ask that question to a man?" A former UCLA faculty member, Kirschbaum is currently on leave from his position as chairman of the Department of Obstetrics and Gynecology at Michigan State University. "Like any couple," Reynolds says when pressed, the two hope eventually to be able to share a full-time residence.

Left unanswered is just where that might be, and Reynolds' admirers say if she is successful at CSU she can go just about anywhere — to head a more visible university, to enter business or government. But Reynolds says she has plenty to do in this post, and she does not view herself as ambitious. "If I were I would have done more clever things," she says. "I'm a worker and a plodder."

Dow battle *Continued from page 270*

trol, and the environmental unit in the office of then-Attorney General Evelle Younger, a future Republican opponent of Brown for governor. It was the Bay Area Air Pollution Control District, not the state, which put the first serious obstacles in Dow's path by imposing far more stringent air pollution standards than Dow had anticipated. And it was Younger's environmental unit — which was also beyond Brown's reach — which intervened on its own by questioning the adequacy of Dow's environmental impact report.

- **Another distortion** of the Dow debate was the portrait of Dow as an unconscionable polluter of the environment. Indeed, Dow is in a business which produces waste materials which could have a devastating effect on the environment, and recent stories linking Dow's Michigan plants to the dioxin contamination of fish lend credence to that image. But within the chemical industry, Dow stood out as one of the most enlightened on environmental issues.
- **Finally, there is** the impression that Dow abandoned its plans for a major California plant after giving up all hope that it would ever be successful in clearing all the bureaucratic roadblocks California government had erected. Dow indeed was frustrated over the delays, but there were many people who believe that Dow was on the verge of winning final approval when it cancelled its plans for the complex in January 1977.

Even the best news reporting of the Dow controversy at the time gave little insight into the overall significance of the dispute. Instead it focused, as it probably should have, on the immediate conflict, reporting the continuing exchange of accusations and developments that gave readers the best hints of whether the plant would ultimately be built.

Duerksen's book is an excellent attempt to add perspective and significance to these details. The presumed biases of a study commissioned by the Conservation Foundation are difficult to detect in his writing. It is a balanced account, sympathetic to Dow's problems as well as those of environmentalists, and deflating the excessive rhetoric of both sides.

It is also well-written. Those who wince in anticipation of opaque and ponderous writing when they see that the author of a book is an attorney are in for a pleasant surprise. Duerksen proved to be a good reporter and an excellent story-teller. His descriptive detail makes real people of the participants in the Dow controversy, giving surprising life to an account of 2½ years of public hearings and battles over permits and environmental impact reports.

Altogether, Duerksen does more than just repeat the charges and counter-charges of a long-dead dispute. He puts them in perspective and makes some sense of the conflict, its impact and its lessons for California.

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Deukmejian goes to the people to avoid the image of Scrooge

By ROBERT FAIRBANKS

Doug Watts was disappointed. As the staff man in charge of generating public support for Governor George Deukmejian's policies and programs, he believed that sending 325 video tapes of the governor to civic groups and others around the state was one of his better ideas. But about a week after the mailing, he says, he read in a newspaper story that the Reagan Administration had been doing the same thing. "Theirs involved only a few tapes," he says. But still . . .

However, that was about the only cause for disappointment as the Deukmejian Administration conducted its first major public relations campaign (also known as "taking one's case to the people"). For Deukmejian, it was almost as though he were running for office again. If nothing else, Watts had been giving him advice back then too, as a private consultant during last year's gubernatorial campaign.

This time, though, the goal was not to be elected. It was to emerge from a fundamental testing of his ability to govern without having lost favorable public opinion and esteem. Deukmejian's handlers say that he had the high rating going into the test. Were he to lose it, of course, he would lose his ability to govern effectively and to succeed in future political campaigns.

The test is Deukmejian's budget and spending battle with the Democratically controlled Legislature. As a practical matter, it began when he was elected and will continue through his term. But the initial phase, involving the 1983-84 spending program, should end this month and will set a pattern that is likely to be retained. Deukmejian's goal is to hold down spending but not to be seen by the public as some kind of latter-day Scrooge.

The public relations campaign began June 1st (a month before the start of the new fiscal year) and was designed to win public acceptance for the deep budget cuts (perhaps $1 billion to $2 billion) that Deukmejian believed he might be required to make. Meanwhile, if negotiations between the governor and the Legislature's Democratic leaders were to produce a fiscal compromise, that would be fine. But no one could be sure that would occur, and the odds in favor were long.

So the goal of the campaign remained as before: to prepare the public for deep budget cuts. Essentially, it was to be done by presenting the governor as a reasonable man with reasonable arguments for wanting to spend less than his opponents. "We're trying to prevent the imagery that we're cold and heartless individuals going out there to cut the heart out of the budget," Watts explained.

Who says Deukmejian is a cold and heartless man? Well, no one exactly, but on June 1st, the day Deukmejian launched his campaign with an evening radio address, the *Sacramento Bee* ran a story under the headline "Duke Budget Neglects Kids, TV Star Says." The story covered news conference statements from actress Patty Duke Astin of the series, "It Takes Two," and Democratic Assemblyman John Vasconcellos, chairman of the Ways and Means Committee. After contending that Deukmejian proposed to cut $763.4 million from children's programs, Vasconcellos asked:

"Isn't there, in the governor's proposed 1983-84 budget, a seeming pattern of unconcern and neglect of our children — in poverty, in schools, in sickness and in distressed family situations?"

Messages like that — whether in news stories, broadcasts or editorials — could not be left to carry the day, Deukmejian's handlers believed. For if they did, then Deukmejian would never avoid one of President Reagan's big problems: a reputation for callousness and hostility to the poor (regardless of whether it is deserved) that has generated crucial opposition to his programs and policies at every turn.

According to Watts, Deukmejian's campaign began by defining the important points that should be stressed along the way, the "talking points." Although they could change with time, the most important initially was that general fund spending must be held to $22 billion. To go higher means a general tax increase, and the governor wants no such thing. Concerning education, reform is the basic issue. "Reform before new money," Watts says.

There were other points as well, many familiar to anyone who followed Deukmejian's gubernatorial campaign. Under the $22 billion budget, for instance, was a "subset" of points to show that state needs could be met with available revenues by "setting priorities."

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But regardless of which points were uppermost at which time, they would be presented primarily by Deukmejian himself. Once thought to be a dull and lifeless speaker, the governor, with coaching, has improved. He is more animated, humorous and will even bring a prop to a news conference for the benefit of TV. (To demonstrate the magnitude of state spending at a conference on June 7th, he placed last year's printed budget, fat as a big city phone book, alongside him. "The best salesman for the governor is the governor," says Steve Merksamer, Deukmejian's top aide.)

According to Watts, the campaign plans called for Deukmejian to appear at least once a week in a statewide forum. He was then to "regionalize" his points with weekly appearances in two "major markets" and two "minors." In the week beginning June 6th, for instance, Deukmejian's statewide forum was the June 7th news conference. His major market appearances were speech deliveries in Los Angeles and San Diego. The minors were Riverside and San Bernardino.

In all those appearances and others, Deukmejian not only covered the points mentioned above, but also laid the groundwork for his pending vetoes. Indeed, he sounded at times as though support for his policies was a patriotic duty. In a June 13th speech to Los Angeles Town Hall, he declared:

"Ladies and gentlemen, I'm here today to tell you that I am ready to use my veto authority to bring those budgets into line with what we can afford. However, it's only fair to warn you that this will require some tough decisions. I may be forced to cut some programs that you personally favor. Nonetheless, I am here today to ask for your support — not as Republicans or Democrats, but as Californians and Americans."

In addition to Deukmejian's personal appearances, the administration campaign included distribution of audio and video tapes. Watts says about 250 audio tapes, each carrying a five-minute message from the governor, were distributed to small GOP groups, like the Amador County Republican Association, and to small civic groups, like small-town Rotaries, around the state. The 325 video tapes (Watts' new idea) carried essentially the same message as the audios and went to larger Republican organizations and civic groups. He estimated that the administration was getting about 60 tape showings a week.

Additionally, much of Deukmejian's campaign organization from last year remains intact under the campaign chairman, former Republican Congressman Clair Burgener of San Diego. (see "Confidence in the Corner Office," *CJ*, April 1983). Numbering about 200 persons, it was enlisted to carry the governor's message by writing letters and making phone calls to newspapers and lawmakers, Watts said.

A hard-working foe

Will the campaign be successful? If it were launched in a vacuum, it probably would be. But the opposition, primarily representing public schools, has been working equally hard. And though school groups and their supporters lack the prestige of the governor's office, they have been campaigning for a longer time. As Jose Colmenares, a spokesman for the California Teachers Association pointed out, his group has been pressing its school reform and finance program since last January.

Nor are school people unwilling to criticize Deukmejian himself. "This is the first governor we've ever had who turned his back on the children in the public schools," said James Donnelly of the Association of California School Administrators. "I've never seen anybody put up the kind of roadblocks he's putting up," said William Lambert of United Teachers-Los Angeles.

Even bookish Bill Honig, the superintendent of public instruction, is speaking strongly. In a response to Deukmejian's June 1st radio speech, he suggested that the governor is none too bright ("He does not appear to understand that reforms and adequate funding go together") and he spurned Deukmejian's offer of another $100 million for the schools as "too little and too late."

So it's hardly certain that Deukmejian will emerge from this year's fiscal war without looking a bit like Scrooge. But one thing is sure. Without his public relations campaign, he'd look a lot worse.

Advertisement

THE CALIFORNIA OATH CONTROVERSY

DAVID P. GARDNER

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The California Oath Controversy by David P. Gardner

This is the fascinating account of the loyalty oath controversy at the University of California in 1949-1952, "a nadir in the history of American academic freedom." This book, published in 1967, is out of print. **California Journal** has obtained 200 copies of the book and is making them available to **Journal** readers for only $8.95, including tax and shipping. **Prepaid orders only.** Send check or MasterCard or VISA number to California Journal Press, 1714 Capitol Ave., Sacramento, CA 95814.

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ROSTRUM

Short letters from subscribers are encouraged.

Binding arbitration's harm

I have just finished reading the article entitled "Why Police Officers May Win Binding Arbitration This Session" (*CJ*, May 1983). As a long-time reader and admirer of *California Journal*, I was disappointed after reading this biased, inaccurate and incomplete article. . . If (binding arbitration) is the answer to improving benefits, why have police salaries and benefits increased faster than most other public employees? Disregarding the extremely generous awards granted by arbitrators in those cities having binding arbitration, it is generally common that police officer salaries have improved at a faster rate than other local government employees. . . The author clearly does not balance the benefits gained by a few employees against the harm done to the public and voter-elected local control which comes from binding arbitration. . . Experience in states which have police binding arbitration shows that this does not stop strikes. When police unions have not achieved their goals through arbitration, there have still been strikes and/or other forms of concerted actions, even though they may be prohibited by law. Simple logic (and the experience of states such as Michigan) shows that police unions are no more likely to accept an unfavorable decision from an arbitrator than they are a city council.

Ironically, the article exposes the cynicism of police unions by showing that if they had binding arbitration, they would not want to give up other forms of "job actions" to achieve their goals. They want to keep the right to use "blue flu," sickouts, work slowdowns and speedups as a means of putting pressure on elected officials and the public. If binding arbitration was really the panacea that would avoid strikes or job actions, then the use of these tactics would not be necessary. . .

ALLEN L. GOODMAN
City Manager, Clovis

Citation costs

Ed Remitz' article (*CJ*, May 1983) includes an incorrect suggestion that the Traffic Adjudication Board (TAB) spends less to process a traffic citation than do high-volume courts. The board's own consultant, however, pointed out to the contrary in the second annual report that most urban courts were spending between $6 and $9 per citation compared to TAB costs of $12 per citation the first year, and just under $10 per citation the second.

The assertion that "total processing costs" for traffic citations can be reduced by an administrative process is a matter of considerable controversy. The principal savings claimed is attributable to the fact that no arrest warrants are issued for drivers who fail to appear at TAB hearings. Even this "savings" could be nullified by the pending legislation to extend TAB an additional year. SB 527 (Petris) provides for issuance of warrants when a driver fails to appear on more than one citation at a TAB hearing.

RALPH J. GAMPELL, Director
Administrative Office of the Courts

Clubs and tax breaks

I read with interest your comments regarding my Assembly Bill 184 (*CJ*, June 1983). For the record, this measure would prohibit tax deductions for business expenses at private clubs licensed by the Department of Alcoholic Beverage Control if the clubs discriminate on the basis of age, sex, race, religion or national origin in either membership or services. You note correctly, "Supporters say the state should not subsidize discrimination through tax benefits." However, juxtaposed with that is the statement: "Opponents believe that such clubs have a right to operate." This implies that my bill would prevent them from operating. However, that is not the case. AB 184 would allow private clubs to continue to operate, but remove their tax breaks if they continue to discriminate.

I believe that the recent Supreme Court decision upholding denial of assistance to schools which discriminate strengthens the case for my bill. Despite the setback in the Revenue and Taxation Committee, such a measure will eventually be passed.

GWEN MOORE
Assemblywoman
Forty-ninth District

Reporting drunk drivers

Thanks for publishing Jerry Jeffe's article (*CJ*, June 1983) listing the free public access telephone numbers of California state agencies. Of all the problems cited, however, the one that kills an average of nearly seven Californians each day is not listed. That's drunk driving. The CHP has a toll-free service for reporting drunk driving: Dial operator and ask for "Zenith 12000." Since drunks are extremely more lethal than poachers, I hope your excellent publication will reference CHP's toll-free drunk driving telephone reporting in a future issue.

CRAIG L. MILLER
Regional Program Coordinator
National Highway Traffic Safety Administration

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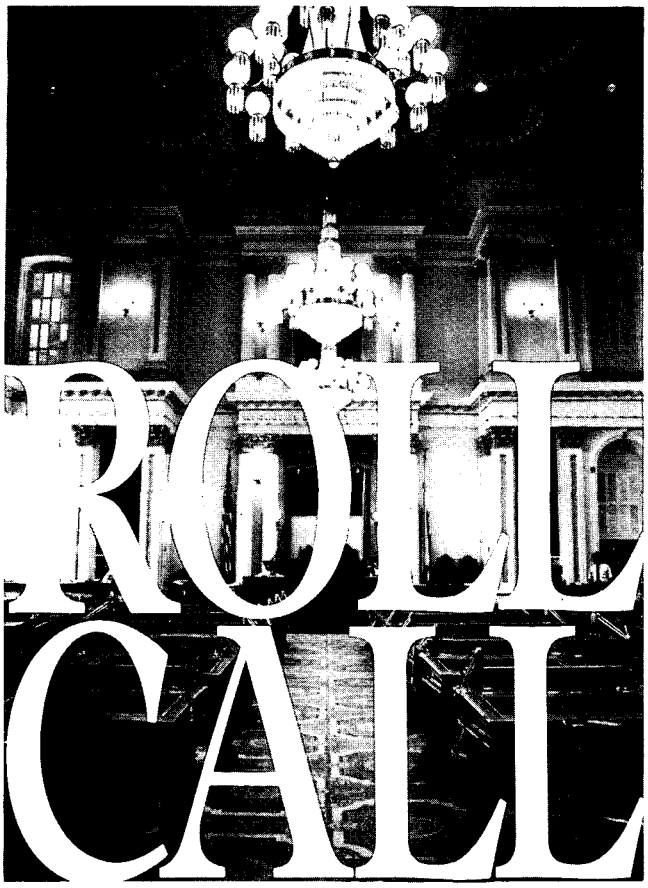

ASSEMBLY

STATE BUDGET

AB 222 (Vasconcellos). The Assembly version of the budget bill appropriates $22.9 billion for state government for fiscal 1983-84, $900 million more than the governor proposed. Passed June 6th, 44-31.

DEMOCRATS FOR: Agnos, Alatorre, Areias, Bane, Bronzan, W. Brown, Calderon, Campbell, Chacon, Clute, Condit, Connelly, Cortese, Costa, Elder, Farr, Floyd, Goggin, Hannigan, Hauser, Hayden, Hughes, Isenberg, Johnston, Katz, Killea, Klehs, Margolin, McAlister, Moore, Moorhead, O'Connell, Papan, Peace, Robinson, Roos, Sher, Tanner, Tucker, Vasconcellos, Vicencia, M. Waters, N. Waters, Young.

REPUBLICANS FOR: None.

DEMOCRATS AGAINST: None.

REPUBLICANS AGAINST: Allen, Bader, Baker, Bergeson, Bradley, D. Brown, Felando, Filante, Frazee, Frizzelle, Herger, Hill, Johnson, Jones, Kelley, Konnyu, La Follette, Lancaster, Leonard, Lewis, McClintock, Mojonnier, Mountjoy, Naylor, Nolan, Rogers, Seastrand, Statham, Stirling, Wright, Wyman.

MEDI-CAL ABORTIONS

AB 222 (Vasconcellos). Budget amendments by Assemblyman Phil Wyman to deny most Medi-Cal funded abortions. A "yes" vote rejects the amendments. Rejected June 6th, 38-36.

DEMOCRATS FOR: Agnos, Alatorre, Bane, Bates, Bronzan, W. Brown, Calderon, Campbell, Chacon, Connelly, Cortese, Costa, Davis, Farr, Floyd, Hannigan, Harris, Hauser, Hayden, Hughes, Isenberg, Johnston, Katz, Killea, Klehs, Margolin, Moore, Moorhead, O'Connell, Papan, Peace, Robinson, Roos, Sher, Vasconcellos, Vicencia, M. Waters, N. Waters.

REPUBLICANS FOR: None.

DEMOCRATS AGAINST: Condit, Elder, Goggin, McAlister, Tucker, Young.

REPUBLICANS AGAINST: Allen, Bader, Baker, Bergeson, Bradley, D. Brown, Felando, Filante, Frazee, Frizzelle, Herger, Hill, Johnson, Jones, Kelley, Konnyu, La Follette, Lancaster, Leonard, Lewis, McClintock, Mountjoy, Naylor, Rogers, Seastrand, Sebastiani, Statham, Stirling, Wright, Wyman.

TAX LOOPHOLES

AB 1428 (W. Brown). Governor's proposal to increase revenues by approximately $466 million through repeal of sales tax exemptions and other tax changes. Proponents say the bill is needed to balance the budget. Opponents object to repeal of various sales tax exemptions and to voting on a bill which had no public hearings. Passed May 16th, 54-3.

DEMOCRATS FOR: Agnos, Alatorre, Areias, Bane, Bates, Bronzan, W. Brown, Calderon, Campbell, Chacon, Clute, Condit, Connelly, Cortese, Costa, Davis, Elder, Farr, Floyd, Goggin, Hannigan, Harris, Hauser, Hayden, Hughes, Isenberg, Johnston, Katz, Killea, Klehs, Margolin, McAlister, Molina, Moore, Moorhead, O'Connell, Papan, Peace, Robinson, Roos, Sher, Tanner, Tucker, Vasconcellos, Vicencia, M. Waters, N. Waters, Young.

REPUBLICANS FOR: Frazee, Jones, Kelley, Lancaster, Mojonnier, Stirling.

DEMOCRATS AGAINST: None.

REPUBLICANS AGAINST: D. Brown, Lewis, Rogers.

SCHOOL FINANCE

AB 70 (Hughes). Provides an $850 million increase in business, property, cigarette and liquor taxes for additional funding for public schools. Supporters contend schools need more money than governor has proposed. Opponents want more educational reforms before agreeing to a tax increase. Passed May 26th, 69-9.

DEMOCRATS FOR: Agnos, Alatorre, Areias, Bane, Bates, Bronzan, W. Brown, Calderon, Campbell, Chacon, Clute, Condit, Connelly, Cortese, Costa, Davis, Elder, Farr, Floyd, Goggin, Hannigan, Harris, Hauser, Hayden, Hughes, Isenberg, Johnston, Katz, Killea, Klehs, Margolin, McAlister, McClintock, Molina, Moore, Moorhead, O'Connell, Papan, Peace, Robinson, Roos, Sher, Tanner, Tucker, Vasconcellos, Vicencia, M. Waters, N. Waters.

REPUBLICANS FOR: Allen, Bader, Baker, Bergeson, Bradley, Felando, Filante, Frazee, Herger, Hill, Johnson, Jones, Kelley, La Follette, Lancaster, Leonard, Mountjoy, Naylor, Seastrand, Statham, Wright.

DEMOCRATS AGAINST: None.

REPUBLICANS AGAINST: D. Brown, Frizzelle, Konnyu, Lewis, Nolan, Rogers, Sebastiani, Stirling, Wyman.

BALLOT INITIATIVES

AB 780 (Robinson). Increases filing fees from $200 to $1,000 for persons who wish to circulate ballot initiative petitions. Backers say the measure will discourage frivolous proposals, but critics argue it seriously infringes on the people's right to initiate ballot measures. Passed June 6th, 45-28.

DEMOCRATS FOR: Agnos, Alatorre, Areias, Bane, Bronzan, W. Brown, Calderon, Campbell, Chacon, Clute, Condit, Cortese, Costa, Elder, Farr, Floyd, Goggin, Harris, Hauser, Hughes, Isenberg, Johnston, Katz, Killea, Klehs, Margolin, Moore, Moorhead, O'Connell, Papan, Peace, Robinson, Roos, Tucker, Vicencia, M. Waters, N. Waters, Young.

REPUBLICANS FOR: Bradley, Frazee, Hill, Leonard, Mojonnier, Statham, Stirling.

DEMOCRATS AGAINST: Bates, Davis, Hannigan, Hayden, McAlister.

REPUBLICANS AGAINST: Allen, Bader, Baker, Bergeson, D. Brown, Filante, Frizzelle, Herger, Johnson, Jones, Kelley, Konnyu, La Follette, Lewis, McClintock, Mountjoy, Naylor, Nolan, Rogers, Seastrand, Sebastiani, Wright, Wyman.

WORKER SAFETY

AB 545 (Klehs). Requires employers to respond in writing to employees who notify them of dangerous working conditions. Proponents say responses would tell workers whether conditions are dangerous. Employers contend that existing law already protects employees. Passed June 6th, 42-35.

DEMOCRATS FOR: Agnos, Alatorre, Areias, Bane, Bates, Bronzan, W. Brown, Calderon, Campbell, Chacon, Condit, Connelly, Cortese, Davis, Elder, Farr, Floyd, Goggin, Hannigan, Harris, Hauser, Hayden, Hughes, Isenberg, Johnston, Katz, Killea, Klehs, Margolin, McAlister, Moore, O'Connell, Papan, Peace, Robinson, Roos, Sher, Tanner, Tucker, Vicencia, M. Waters, Young.

REPUBLICANS FOR: None.

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DEMOCRATS AGAINST: Costa, Moorhead, N. Waters.
REPUBLICANS AGAINST: Allen, Bader, Baker, Bergeson, Bradley, D. Brown, Felando, Filante, Frazee, Frizzelle, Herger, Hill, Johnson, Jones, Kelley, Konnyu, La Follette, Lancaster, Leonard, Lewis, McClintock, Mojonnier, Mountjoy, Naylor, Nolan, Rogers, Seastrand, Sebastiani, Statham, Stirling, Wright, Wyman.

SENATE

STATE BUDGET

SB 123 (Alquist). Senate version appropriates $23.3 billion for state government for fiscal 1983-84, $1.3 billion more than the governor's request. Passed June 6th, 27-11.

DEMOCRATS FOR: Alquist, Ayala, Boatwright, Carpenter, Deddeh, Dills, Foran, Garamendi, B. Greene, L. Greene, Hart, Lockyer, McCorquodale, Mello, Montoya, Petris, Presley, Robbins, Roberti, Rosenthal, Stiern, Torres, Vuich.
REPUBLICANS FOR: Craven, Davis, Johnson (Ind.), Marks.
DEMOCRATS AGAINST: None.
REPUBLICANS AGAINST: Beverly, Campbell, Doolittle, Ellis, Maddy, Nielsen, Richardson, Royce, Russell, Seymour, Speraw.

MEDI-CAL ABORTIONS

SB 123 (Alquist). Budget amendments by Senator Joseph Montoya to deny most Medi-Cal funded abortions. Passed June 6th, 23-16.

DEMOCRATS FOR: Ayala, Boatwright, Carpenter, Deddeh, Foran, Montoya, Presley, Roberti, Vuich.
REPUBLICANS FOR: Beverly, Campbell, Craven, Davis, Doolittle, Ellis, Johnson (Ind.), Maddy, Nielsen, Richardson, Royce, Russell, Seymour, Speraw.
DEMOCRATS AGAINST: Alquist, Dills, Garamendi, B. Greene, L. Greene, Hart, Lockyer, McCorquodale, Mello, Petris, Robbins, Rosenthal, Stiern, Torres, Watson.
REPUBLICANS AGAINST: Marks.

TAX LOOPHOLES

AB 1428 (W. Brown). Senate's version of the governor's loophole closure proposal. Senate version reinstates some exemptions, increases by $50 million taxes for oil companies, and adds $85 million in sales taxes on snack foods. Passed May 26th, 30-10.

DEMOCRATS FOR: Alquist, Ayala, Boatwright, Carpenter, Deddeh, Foran, Garamendi, B. Greene, L. Greene, Hart, Keene, Lockyer, McCorquodale, Mello, Montoya, Petris, Presley, Robbins, Roberti, Rosenthal, Stiern, Torres, Vuich, Watson.
REPUBLICANS FOR: Beverly, Campbell, Craven, Davis, Maddy, Marks.
DEMOCRATS AGAINST: Dills.
REPUBLICANS AGAINST: Doolittle, Ellis, Johnson (Ind.), Nielsen, Richardson, Royce, Russell, Seymour, Speraw.

INCOME TAX

SB 23x (D Ills). Authorizes cities and counties to impose a local income tax. Local governments want this option to regenerate revenues lost through Proposition 13. Opponents argue the bill allows a majority vote to impose these taxes rather than a two-thirds vote. Passed May 26th, 21-18.

DEMOCRATS FOR: Alquist, Ayala, Carpenter, Deddeh, Dills, Garamendi, B. Greene, L. Greene, Hart, Keene, Lockyer, McCorquodale, Montoya, Petris, Presley, Roberti, Rosenthal, Torres, Watson.
REPUBLICANS FOR: Davis, Marks.
DEMOCRATS AGAINST: Foran, Mello, Robbins, Stiern, Vuich.
REPUBLICANS AGAINST: Beverly, Campbell, Craven, Doolittle, Ellis, Johnson (Ind.), Maddy, Nielsen, Richardson, Royce, Russell, Seymour, Speraw.

SCHOOL FINANCE

SB 813 (Hart). Increases by $700 million, sales, business income, cigarette and liquor taxes to provide additional funding for public schools. Supporters want more school money than governor has proposed. Opponents want more educational reform before agreeing to a tax increase. Passed May 19th, 31-5.

DEMOCRATS FOR: Alquist, Ayala, Boatwright, Carpenter, Deddeh, Dills, Foran, Garamendi, L. Greene, Hart, Keene, Lockyer, McCorquodale, Mello, Montoya, Petris, Presley, Robbins, Roberti, Rosenthal, Stiern, Torres, Vuich, Watson.
REPUBLICANS FOR: Beverly, Craven, Davis, Johnson (Ind.), Marks, Nielsen, Seymour.
DEMOCRATS AGAINST: None.
REPUBLICANS AGAINST: Campbell, Doolittle, Ellis, Maddy, Royce.

CRIMINAL OFFENDERS

SB 371 (Watson). Repeals law allowing court-ordered sterilization of persons convicted of a sexual offense against a girl under age 10. Supporters argue that the law is archaic and inhumane. Critics say the threat of punishment can be an effective deterrent. Failed May 19th, 12-22.

DEMOCRATS FOR: Alquist, B. Greene, L. Greene, Hart, Keene, McCorquodale, Petris, Presley, Roberti, Rosenthal, Torres, Watson.
REPUBLICANS FOR: None.
DEMOCRATS AGAINST: Ayala, Boatwright, Carpenter, Deddeh, Dills, Foran, Lockyer, Mello, Montoya, Robbins, Vuich.
REPUBLICANS AGAINST: Beverly, Campbell, Craven, Doolittle, Ellis, Johnson (Ind.), Maddy, Royce, Russell, Seymour, Speraw.

PODIATRISTS

AB 563 (Moorhead). Expands the legal definition of podiatry to include diagnosis and surgical treatment of the ankle and tendons that insert into the foot. Podiatrists say the bill makes the law conform with existing podiatric practice. Medical doctors argue that podiatrists are not trained to treat tendons extending to the knee. Failed May 27th, 19-12.

DEMOCRATS FOR: Ayala, Carpenter, Dills, Foran, Keene, McCorquodale, Petris, Presley, Robbins, Roberti, Rosenthal, Watson.
REPUBLICANS FOR: Campbell, Craven, Doolittle, Johnson (Ind.), Marks, Nielsen, Speraw.
DEMOCRATS AGAINST: Deddeh, Mello, Stiern, Torres, Vuich.
REPUBLICANS AGAINST: Beverly, Davis, Ellis, Maddy, Royce, Russell, Seymour.

TRANSSEXUALS

SB 814 (L. Greene). Prohibits employment discrimination against transsexuals. Supporters contend transsexuals need the same job protections as other employees. Critics argue that employers should not be forced to hire them. Failed May 12th, 5-20.

DEMOCRATS FOR: L. Greene, Keene, Petris, Watson.
REPUBLICANS FOR: Marks.
DEMOCRATS AGAINST: Ayala, Boatwright, Dills, Garamendi, Lockyer, Presley, Stiern, Vuich.
REPUBLICANS AGAINST: Campbell, Craven, Doolittle, Ellis, Johnson (Ind.), Maddy, Nielsen, Richardson, Royce, Russell, Seymour, Speraw.

COMMITTEE VOTES

JUVENILE OFFENDERS

AB 10 (Moorhead). Allows 14 and 15-year olds accused of murder to be tried as adults. Proponents believe that 14 and 15-year-olds should be held accountable for committing violent crimes. Critics argue that this age group is too young to be held legally responsible for its actions. Assembly Criminal Law and Public Safety Committee defeated May 18th, 3-0.

AYES: Baker (R), La Follette (R), Stirling (R).
NOT VOTING: Bates (D), Goggin (D), Harris (D), Margolin (D), Sher (D).

AUTOMOBILE INSURANCE

AB 1406 (Molina). Prohibits insurance companies from "redlining," charging higher auto rates to residents of certain neighborhoods. Supporters says "redlining" penalizes good drivers who live in poor areas. Automobile insurers contend "redlining" more evenly spreads the cost of insurance. Assembly Finance and Insurance Committee defeated May 10th, 2-10.

AYES: Calderon (D), Roos (D).
NOES: Chacon (D), Connelly (D), La Follette (R), Lancaster (R), Lewis (R), McAlister (D), Papan (D), Robinson (D), Statham (R), Wright (R).

ABORTION

AB 867 (Felando). Requires physicians to use an anesthetic or analgesic medication during abortion to relieve pain and suffering by the fetus. Proponents indicate scientific evidence shows a fetus

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capable of feeling pain. Opponents view the bill as an attempt to discourage second trimester abortions. Assembly Health Committee defeated May 17th, 5-5.

AYES: Allen (R), D. Brown (R), Felando (R), Leonard (R), Tucker (D).

NOES: Bronzan (D), Davis (D), Isenberg (D), Klehs (D), Moorhead (D).

CRIMINAL SEARCHES

AB 576 (McAlister). Gives police access to welfare, Med-Cal, unemployment and disability insurance records to locate convicted felons or those sought on warrants. Supporters argue that wanted criminals are shielded by the confidentiality provisions of such records. Critics contend the bill is an invasion of privacy tantamount to creating a police state. Assembly Ways and Means Committee defeated May 25th, 5-8.

AYES: Baker (R), Elder (D), Kelley (R), Leonard (R), Stirling (R).

NOES: Agnos (D), Alatorre (D), Bates (D), Campbell (D), Hannigan (D), Roos (D), Vasconcellos (D), M. Waters (D).

CONDOMINIUM CONVERSIONS

SB 259 (Mello). Overturns a San Francisco ordinance limiting condominium conversions. Opponents argue that the bill would allow one specific developer to proceed with up to 700 condominium conversions. Assembly Housing and Community Development Committee defeated May 23rd, 3-6.

AYES: Davis (D), Lewis (R), Mountjoy (R).

NOES: Bader (R), Calderon (D), Chacon (D), Hauser (D), Isenberg (D), La Follette (R).

BUSINESS TAXES

AB 2031 (Baker). Authorizes businesses to carry operating losses over to subsequent tax years to reduce future taxable profits. Proponents argue that this conforms with federal tax law and also encourages business expansion through increased working capital. Fiscal experts claim the bill will result in a $200-650 million revenue loss to the state. Assembly Revenue and Taxation Committee defeated May 23rd, 5-8.

AYES: D. Brown (R), Frazee (R), Jones (R), McClintock (R), Seastrand (R).

NOES: Condit (D), Connelly (D), Elder (D), Hannigan (D), Hayden (D), Klehs, (D), Molina (D), Moore (D).

DIVORCE SETTLEMENTS

AB 525 (McAlister). Provides that a spouse's earning capacities during a marriage is community property for purposes of divorce settlements. Supporters believe that the value of future earnings based on professional training should be a shared asset in divorce. Opponents criticize the workability of such a concept. Assembly Judiciary Committee defeated May 9th, 4-2.

AYES: McAlister (D), Mojonnier (R), Stirling (R), M. Waters (D).

NOES: Moorhead (D), Robinson (D).

JURIES

SB 1111 (Boatwright). Reduces the size of juries in misdemeanor criminal cases from 12 to 9 and permits courts to allow attorneys to examine prospective jurors. Supporters contend the bill will speed the trial process. Critics say smaller juries will adversely affect a defendant's right, especially minority defendants who may appear before an increased number of all-white juries. Senate Judiciary Committee defeated May 31st, 5-4.

AYES: Davis (R), Dootlittle (R), Keene (D), Presley (D), Richardson (R).

NOES: Marks (R), Petris (D), Roberti (D), Watson (D).

STATE-MANDATED PROGRAMS

SCR 8 (Marks). Requires a two-thirds instead of a majority vote on any legislative bill that imposes a state-mandated cost on local governments. Proponents argue that if local governments are to survive financially, more control must be exercised over state-mandated programs by the Legislature. Opponents claim that a legislative minority would be able to exercise tremendous power in determining state mandates. Senate Rules Committee defeated June 1st, 2-2.

AYES: Craven (R), Johnson (Ind.).

NOES: Petris (D), Roberti (D).

NEW IN PRINT

Training Tomorrow's Workers — Assembly Office of Research. 164 pages, $8.30 plus tax. Analyzes the economic dilemma of enormous investment in education and job training programs coupled with large numbers of people unable to secure work even when jobs are available. Proposes solutions including the overhaul of occupational training systems for both adults and youth. Assembly Publications Office, 1100 J St., Sacramento 95814.

Computer Education: The Fourth "R" — Assembly Office of Research. 87 pages, $6.70 plus tax. A report that underscores the need to add computer science to the educational system. Assembly Publications Office, 1100 J St., Sacramento 95814.

Housing Assistance In California: A Program Analysis —The Rand Corporation, 1700 Main St., Santa Monica 90406. 99 pages, A study that examines the disproportionately low amount of housing assistance received in 1981 by middle-income California homeowners. Describes 56 programs that provide housing assistance to homeowners and renters.

Impact Of Medi-Cal Program Reductions On The Elderly And Disabled — Assembly Committee on Aging and Long-Term Care, Volume 1. 145 pages, $8.48. Documents the impact of 1982 cutbacks in Medi-Cal benefits on the poor, elderly and disabled. Assembly Publications office, 1100 J St., Sacramento 95814.

1983 Digest Of California Labor Laws — California Chamber of Commerce, P.O. Box 1736, Sacramento 95808. 23rd edition. 122 pages, $30 for Chamber members; $40 non-members. Explains employers' rights and obligations on key labor issues including wages and hours, fair employment regulations, workers' compensation, unemployment insurance, occupational safety and child labor.

Winter Storms Of 1983: California's Natural Disaster — Joint Committee on Fire, Police, Emergency and Disaster Services, 1100 J St., Room 300, Sacramento 95814. 212 pages. Documents disaster response problems faced by public agencies and emergency personnel; summarizes by county the more than $520 million in damages incurred during 1982-83; analyzes emergency service costs to public agencies.

Sexual Assault Prevention Handbook — Office of the Attorney General, Crime Prevention Center, P.O. Box 13197, Sacramento 95813. 11 pages. Provides information about sexual assaults and victims' personal, legal and medical rights. Includes a listing of rape crisis centers in California.

Accredited Representatives Of Press, Television, Radio: 1983 Directory — Joint Committee on Rules. 34 pages, $5.30. Official directory of members of the media who cover state government and actions of the state Legislature. Assembly Publications Office, 1100 J St., Sacramento 95814.

Affordable Government: A Plan For The Eighties — California Taxpayers Association, 921 11th St., Suite 800, Sacramento 95814. 10 pages. Recommends proposals to control state spending, lower state and local budget expenditures and effect economies in the costs of education, health and welfare, corrections, public employee salaries and benefits, disability and unemployment insurance benefits, and other programs.

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Perspective from
WASHINGTON
By Leo Rennert

Does California need Uncle Sam?

After taking it on the chin for several years, California's congressional delegation is slowly waking up to the need to compete more effectively with other regions in the scramble for a bigger slice of the federal budget. Urgent pleas have been sent to Governor George Deukmejian and state legislative leaders in Sacramento to field a strong team of lobbyists in Washington to help defend California's interests against covetous designs of other states. The delegation, for the first time, also is giving serious thought to mobilizing its own forces on a bipartisan basis to halt the steady pummeling of California.

THE PROBLEM IS NOT NEW. Although California grew and thrived on federal subsidies for more than a century — from the advent of the railroads to the exploration of space — pork-barrel politics became unfashionable in recent years. The last governor who worked hard to get every possible federal dollar was Pat Brown. Ronald Reagan and Jerry Brown converted the state's Washington lobbying office into a political command post for their national aspirations. Deukmejian paid scant attention to the impact of federal spending policies during the first months of his administration. The Legislature, which had a fairly good Washington operation when Leo McCarthy ran the Assembly and Jim Mills led the Senate, pulled back. Their successors, Willie Brown and David Roberti, have been unable to agree on a common course. On Capitol Hill, Democratic Senator Alan Cranston showed little interest in making the delegation a smoothly functioning and closely knit group — even before he set his sights on the White House. California's junior senator, Republican Pete Wilson, is still looking for his own little niche and can be forgiven for not taking the lead.

Despite such widespread disinterest and inaction, there have been some important stirrings on a couple of fronts. David Vienna, a savvy Washington lobbyist who represents Roberti and state Controller Ken Cory, has made headway in demonstrating that, with an efficient computer-based operation, California need not be caught napping when other states try to grab off a bigger share of social and other domestic programs. Within the House delegation, West Sacramento Democrat Vic Fazio has taken the lead in urging his California colleagues to wake up to the challenge posed by well-organized and better-staffed delegations from other areas, particularly the Northeast and Midwest. Fazio, who serves on the House Appropriations Committee, belatedly discovered that California was shortchanged when Congress carved up $1.1 billion in anti-recession funds this year. With 11.4 percent of the nation's unemployed, California got only 7.3 percent of the money. As it turned out, the distribution formula was drafted by Democrat Bob Edgar of Pennsylvania, a leader of the Northeast-Midwest Coalition.

Checking into other programs, Fazio found that California, with more than 10 percent of the nation's population, receives only 5.8 percent of grants for maternal and child health services, 2.6 percent of the Energy Department's low-income weatherization program and 2.9 percent of rural water and sewer loans. California barely gets back one dollar in federal spending for every dollar it contributes in federal taxes — despite its disproportionate share of defense contracts and installations. In non-defense programs, California has been a long-time "loser."

In letters to the governor and leaders of the Legislature, Fazio said, "It's time that we begin to redress these imbalances against California." He called on them to maintain "adequately staffed presences" in Washington to strengthen California's hand in close budget encounters with other states. Democratic Delegation Chairman Don Edwards is working with his Republican counterpart, Carlos Moorhead, to set up a bipartisan research institute to give California lawmakers an early-warning system to detect budget raids by other delegations and stronger ammunition to resist such encroachments.

At this point, it's not clear whether these moves will bear fruit. Similar suggestions have been floated in the past — with no discernible results. It wasn't too long ago, for example, that the delegation received a consultant's report from Eugene Lee, director of the Institute of Governmental Studies at the University of California at Berkeley, who recommended the hiring of a small staff of professional experts to match the resources of other states. While the Lee report gathered dust, the House Appropriations Committee recently knocked out $28 million requested by the Reagan Administration for a national research center at Berkeley to develop advanced materials for high-tech and other industrial applications. Congressmen from other regions chorused that California already was so well off that it didn't need another federal plum.

ON ANOTHER FRONT, California was put on the defensive by Southern senators trying to hold on to a bigger share of special funds to educate poor children. Although the 1980 census showed a greater increase in low-income students in California and other Northern states, the South put up a determined bid to retain its preferred status — even if it meant inflicting a $31 million loss on California. The South got only half a loaf. But in many of these skirmishes, California tends to wake up late to the threat, then scrambles feverishly to stay even.

According to some pessimists, California has become too diverse and too divided ideologically between Democratic liberals and GOP conservatives to get its act together as a cohesive delegation. The problem actually goes deeper. It has to do with different regional attitudes toward the role of the federal government. Since the New Deal, Southerners have developed a deep respect for the beneficent economic impact of federal assistance programs. The Eastern Establishment inveighed against such subsidies for a long time — until its industrial base began to crumble. Now, the Northeast and Midwest are the newest practitioners of pork-barrel politics. California, after soaring into the space age on the wings of federal dollars, turned its back on Washington under Reagan and Jerry Brown. For a generation, there has been a feeling that California is a self-sufficient economic giant who can make it without federal crutches. It's still a deep-seated attitude, but it could be on the verge of changing.

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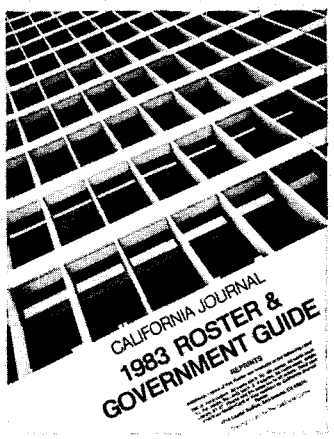

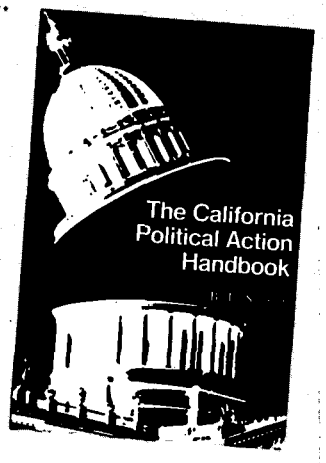

The California Political Action Handbook, *by Ed Salzman.* This guide to the political game in Sacramento answers these questions: How can an organization or an individual win in Sacramento? What tactics should be applied when legislative emergencies arise? How can the bureaucracy be penetrated? How can elections be won? Price for the 32-page, 5½ x 8½ handbook: 25 or more copies, 95 cents each; 6-24 copies, $1.50 each; 2-5 copies, $1.95 each; single copy, $2.50. Add 6 percent sales tax.

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1983 Roster & Government Guide. Contains the names, titles, addresses and telephone numbers of all the key players in California government, a list of state agencies, a legislative-process chart and plenty of other useful information. Price for the 16-page pamphlet: 100 or more copies, 30 cents each; 50-99 copies, 40 cents each; 10-49 copies, 60 cents each; 2-9 copies, 85 cents each; single copy, $1.50. Add 6 percent sales tax to all but single-copy orders.

California Public Administration, 2nd Ed., *by T. Anthony Quinn and Ed Salzman.* This guide to the state's bureaucracy contains sections on the impact of Proposition 13, top executives, regulatory agencies, Legislature, judicial system, education and the bureaucracy. The book also contains diagrams showing the legislative process, the court system and the state's administrative agencies. 1982, 8½ x 11, 112 pages. $5.25 paper.

Reporting: An Inside View, *by Lou Cannon.* The Watergate exposé by Woodward and Bernstein has again romanticized newspaper reporting in America. But how many of us know what really goes on behind the scenes in the complex process that determines what is and what isn't fit to print? Anyone interested in the workings of the press during the post-Watergate era will find *Reporting: An Inside View* fascinating reading. 1977. 6 x 9, 308 pages, $10.55 cloth, $5.25 paper.

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